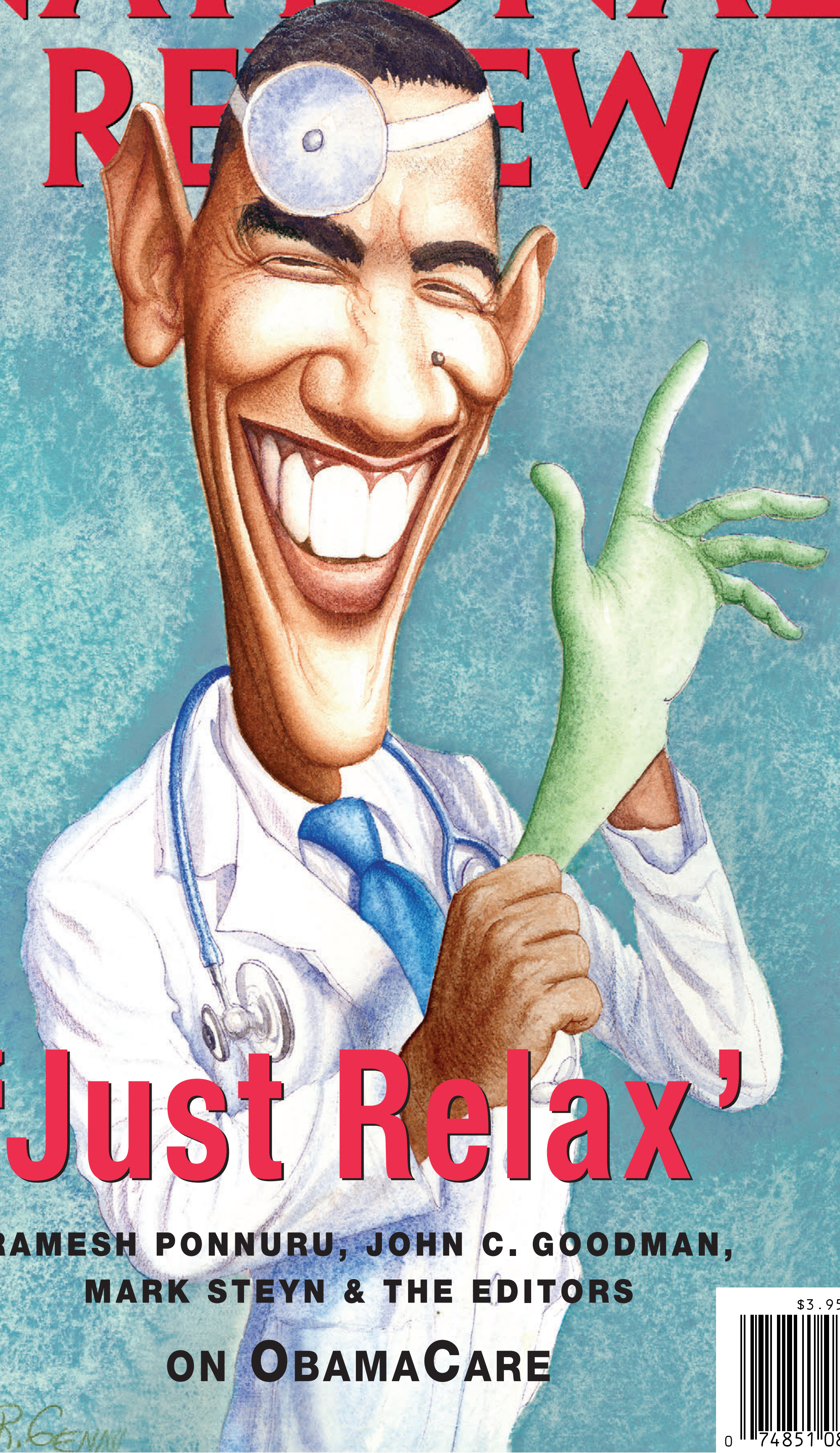
July 20, 2009 49145 $3.95

KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON: Why Texas Succeeds

NATIONAL REVIEW



'Just Relax'

**RAMESH PONNURU, JOHN C. GOODMAN,
MARK STEYN & THE EDITORS**

ON OBAMACARE

www.nationalreview.com

Making the most of America's untapped energy resources is key to improving energy security and the nation's economy. Learn more at bp.com/us.

New areas offshore may hold enough reserves to fuel auto consumption for about 30 years. Our groundbreaking platforms in the Gulf of Mexico add over 400,000 barrels a day to U.S. supplies.

Demand for natural gas is growing fast. Exploring offshore could help meet energy needs. Today, natural gas accounts for over 40% of BP's hydrocarbon portfolio in the U.S.

Unlocking America's energy potential.

America's wind resources remain untapped. BP and its partners have wind projects in 4 states generating renewable energy for over 180,000 average U.S. homes.

Solar energy is heating up. We're partnering with the Department of Energy and Arizona State University to lower costs and improve solar performance.

Demand for renewable fuels is growing. BP has partnered with Verenium to accelerate the development of advanced biofuels for U.S. motorists.

Energy efficiency is a hidden resource. So we created the BP Energy Lab to help each of us reduce energy usage and carbon emissions. bp.com/energylab

bp

beyond petroleum®

© 2009 BP Products North America Inc.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

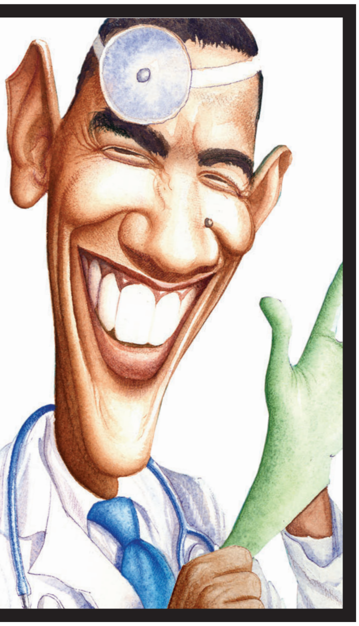
NATIONAL
REVIEW

JULY 20, 2009 | VOLUME LXI, NO. 13 | www.nationalreview.com

ON THE COVER Page 31

Dependence Day

Health care is a game-changer. The permanent game-changer. The government annexation of health care will prove impossible to roll back. It alters the relationship between the citizen and the state and, once that transformation is effected, you can click your ruby slippers all you want but you'll never get back to Kansas. *Mark Steyn*



COVER: ROMAN GENN

Michael Rubin on Iran . . . p. 24

ARTICLES

16 **OBAMA'S HEALTH-CARE GAMBLE** *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
The stakes for the president are high.

18 **SCAPEGOATS IN WHITE COATS** *by John C. Goodman*
Doctors are not to blame for the high cost of medical services.

24 **OUR COMMON FOE** *by Michael Rubin*
Obama should support the Iranian people by speaking out against their oppressors.

27 **REVOLUTIONARY TYPES** *by John O'Sullivan*
Iran's is a peaceful uprising.

29 **SANFORD'S SEVENTIES SHOW** *by Rob Long*
The South Carolina governor's place in the pantheon of political adulterers.

FEATURES

31 **DEPENDENCE DAY** *by Mark Steyn*
State control of health care will change our political culture, for the worse and forever.

34 **GOING ALAMO** *by Kevin D. Williamson*
Why jobs and companies are flocking to a big small-government state.

37 **AN OCCURRENCE ON FUYOU STREET** *by Ethan Gutmann*
The Communist myth of Falun Gong's original sin.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

43 **STORY MORALS**
Cheryl Miller examines the works and warnings of best-selling novelist Jodi Picoult.

46 **MAN, MACHINE, AND COPYRIGHT**
Adam Thierer reviews Digital Barbarism: A Writer's Manifesto, *by Mark Helprin.*

48 **MUSIC: PODIUM PRODIGY**
Jay Nordlinger talks with Lorin Maazel, as the maestro leaves the New York Philharmonic.

50 **FILM: ENEMIES OF THE STATE**
Ross Douthat reviews Public Enemies.

51 **CITY DESK: SKULL SESSION**
Richard Brookhiser empathizes with migraine sufferers.

SECTIONS

2 Letters to the Editor
4 The Week
41 The Long View . . . . *Rob Long*
42 The Bent Pin . . . . *Florence King*
47 Poetry . . . . *William Baer*
52 Happy Warrior . . . . *Mark Steyn*

National Review (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 2009. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to National Review, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 386-246-0118, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to National Review, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A. RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

NATIONAL REVIEW

JULY 20 ISSUE; PRINTED JULY 2

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Deputy Managing Editors
Fred Schwarz / Kevin D. Williamson
Associate Editor Robert VerBruggen
Research Director John J. Virtes
Research Manager Dorothy McCartney
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Katherine Connell

Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
Ross Douthat / Rod Dreher / David Frum
Roman Genn / Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin
Yuval Levin / Rob Long / Jim Manzi
Andrew C. McCarthy / Kate O'Beirne
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Managing Editor Edward John Craig
Deputy Managing Editor Duncan Currie
Associate Editor Emily Karrs
Staff Reporters
Mark Hemingway / Stephen Spruiell
Webmaster James Voris
Technical Services Russell Jenkins

CHAIRMAN & CEO
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Vin Weber

Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Zofia Baraniak
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Amy Tyler
Circulation Director Erik Zenhausern
Circulation Manager Jason Ng
WORLD WIDE WEB www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 386-246-0118
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler
Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Paul Olivett
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Martin P. McNulty

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

FOUNDER
William F. Buckley Jr.

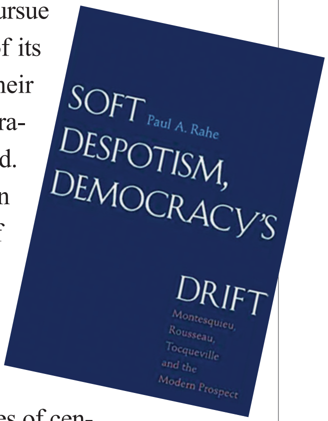
Letters

Democracy Drifting Away

I read William Voegeli's review of *Soft Despotism, Democracy's Drift* ("Can We Outlast the Contradictions?"—June 22) with pleasure and genuine interest. His depiction of my book is for the most part accurate; his assessment, generous; and his criticism, cogent and consistent with the thoughtful analysis of the state of conservative movement that he has developed elsewhere.

If I am unpersuaded by his argument that we should regard keeping "social and political conditions from getting worse" as "a signal achievement," settle for seeing "conditions get worse slowly rather than rapidly," and give up on the possibility of "effecting any significant, durable reversal of democracy's drift," it is because I am old enough to remember a time in which conservatives, such as Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, were inclined to think the advances made by Communism irreversible, and to believe that we should pursue a policy of preserving as much as we could in the face of its approaching victory. Ronald Reagan rightly regarded their policy as a recipe for defeat, and he showed us that democratic statesmanship has far greater scope than others supposed.

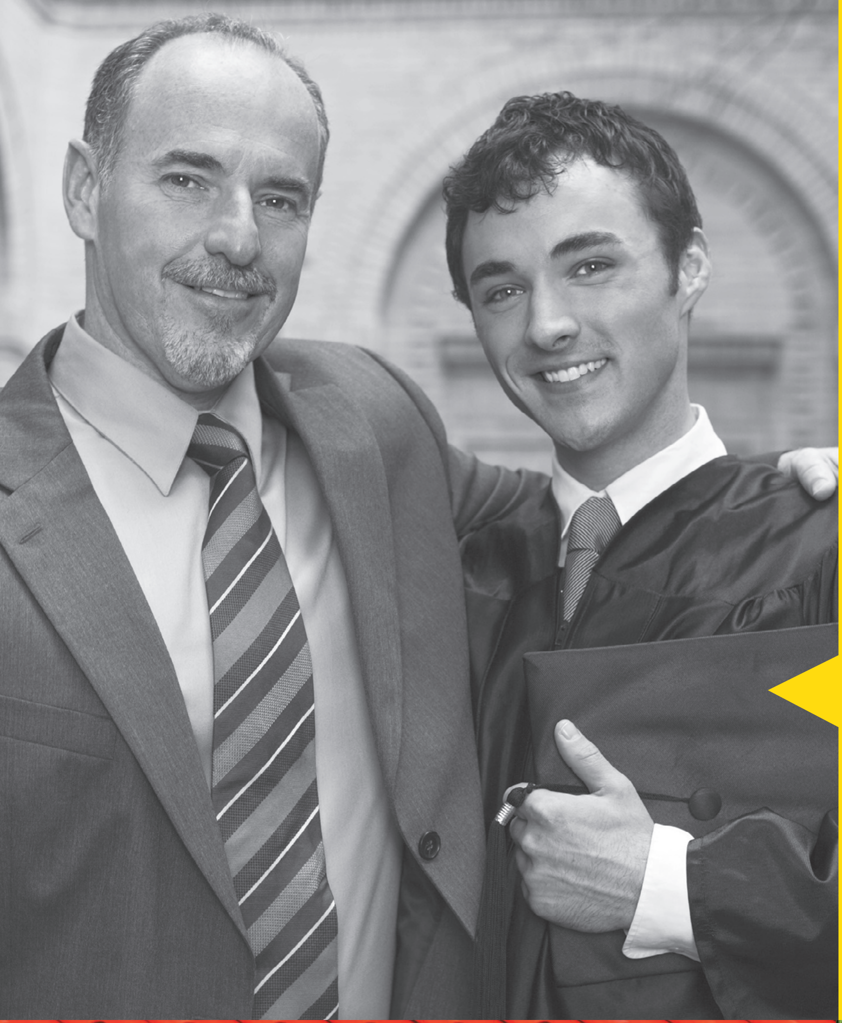
Alexis de Tocqueville was not, as Voegeli suggests, "an exemplar of philosophical . . . resignation." In the face of tyranny he was defiant, for his was "a fighting faith," and, by sketching out "a new political science for a new world," he sought in profound ways to shape that world and to make straight the path for others more adept than he at what he called "the art of government." The advocates of centralized administration are apt to overreach, and when, as at the present moment, they openly display their ambition to manage in fine detail the lives of their fellow citizens, resolute conservative statesmanship can accomplish wonders. The only certitude is that conservatives will not succeed at that which they do not try.



Paul A. Rahe
Charles O. Lee and Louise K. Lee Chair
in the Western Heritage at Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, Mich.

WILLIAM VOEGELI REPLIES: Professor Rahe and I agree in principle—conservatives must choose their battles shrewdly, and then fight them heroically. We agree, moreover, that valor is usually the greater part of discretion. Our disagreement, if we have one, is over prudential questions: *How* do conservatives choose and fight their battles? I endorse his call for stout resistance to the current, audacious effort to Swedenize the United States before the 2010 midterm elections. And I reiterate my call for Professor Rahe to explain, in future publications, how conservatives can reinvigorate the family and community in an age transformed by feminism, mobility, and mass prosperity.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.



One day, his son would speak to the world.

He wanted them to understand.

Rosetta Stone. The fastest and easiest way to learn CHINESE.

Arabic • **Chinese** (Mandarin) • **Danish** • **Dutch** • **English** (American) • **English** (British) • **French** • **German** • **Greek** • **Hebrew** • **Hindi** **Indonesian** • **Italian** • **Irish** • **Japanese** • **Korean** • **Latin** • **Pashto** • **Persian** (Farsi) • **Polish** • **Portuguese** (Brazil) • **Russian** **Spanish** (Latin America) • **Spanish** (Spain) • **Swahili** • **Swedish** • **Tagalog** (Filipino) • **Thai** • **Turkish** • **Vietnamese** • **Welsh**

Rosetta Stone® brings you a complete language-learning solution, wherever you are: at home, in-the-car or on-the-go. You'll learn quickly and effectively, without translation or memorization. You'll discover our method, which keeps you excited to learn more and more.

- You'll experience **Dynamic Immersion**® as you match real-world images to words spoken by native speakers so you'll find yourself engaged and learn your second language like you learned your first.
- Our proprietary **Speech Recognition Technology** evaluates your speech and coaches you on more accurate pronunciation. You'll speak naturally.
- Only Rosetta Stone has **Adaptive Recall**,™ that brings back material to help you where you need it most, for more effective progress.
- And Rosetta Stone includes **Audio Companion**™ so that you can take the Rosetta Stone experience anywhere you use a CD or MP3 player.

Innovative software. Immersive method. Complete mobility. It's the total solution. Get Rosetta Stone — **The Fastest Way to Learn a Language. Guaranteed.**®

RosettaStone
Audio Companion

SAVE 10%!

100% GUARANTEED
SIX-MONTH MONEY-BACK

Level 1	~~Reg. $259~~	**NOW $233**
Level 1&2	~~Reg. $419~~	**NOW $377**
Level 1,2&3	~~Reg. $549~~	**NOW $494**

©2008 Rosetta Stone Ltd. All rights reserved. Offer applies to Personal Edition only. Patent rights pending. Offer cannot be combined with any other offer. Prices subject to change without notice. Six-Month Money-Back Guarantee is limited to product purchases made directly from Rosetta Stone and does not include return shipping. Guarantee does not apply to an online subscription or to Audio Companion purchased separately from the CD-ROM product. All materials included with the product at the time of purchase must be returned together and undamaged to be eligible for any exchange or refund.

Call
(877) 720-6933

Online
RosettaStone.com/qds079

Use promotional code qds079 when ordering.
Offer expires October 31, 2009.

RosettaStone®

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Week

abc NEWS
R. GENN

See page 12.

■ Let's hope he turns out to be a better senator than he was a comedian.

■ The saga of South Carolina governor Mark Sanford and his Argentinian mistress displayed two of America's least attractive traits—preening and prurience. We unequivocally denounce hypocritical horndog politicians (are there pictures?). Sanford's affair involved him in dereliction of his executive duties. He added an Argentinian leg to a South American business trip, which was sleazy, and he was AWOL from his state for almost a week. His aides thought, or pretended to think, that he was hiking the Appalachian Trail. Suppose there had been a hurricane back home, or a terrorist attack? Happily he is term-limited, and there will be no call for him to visit Iowa.

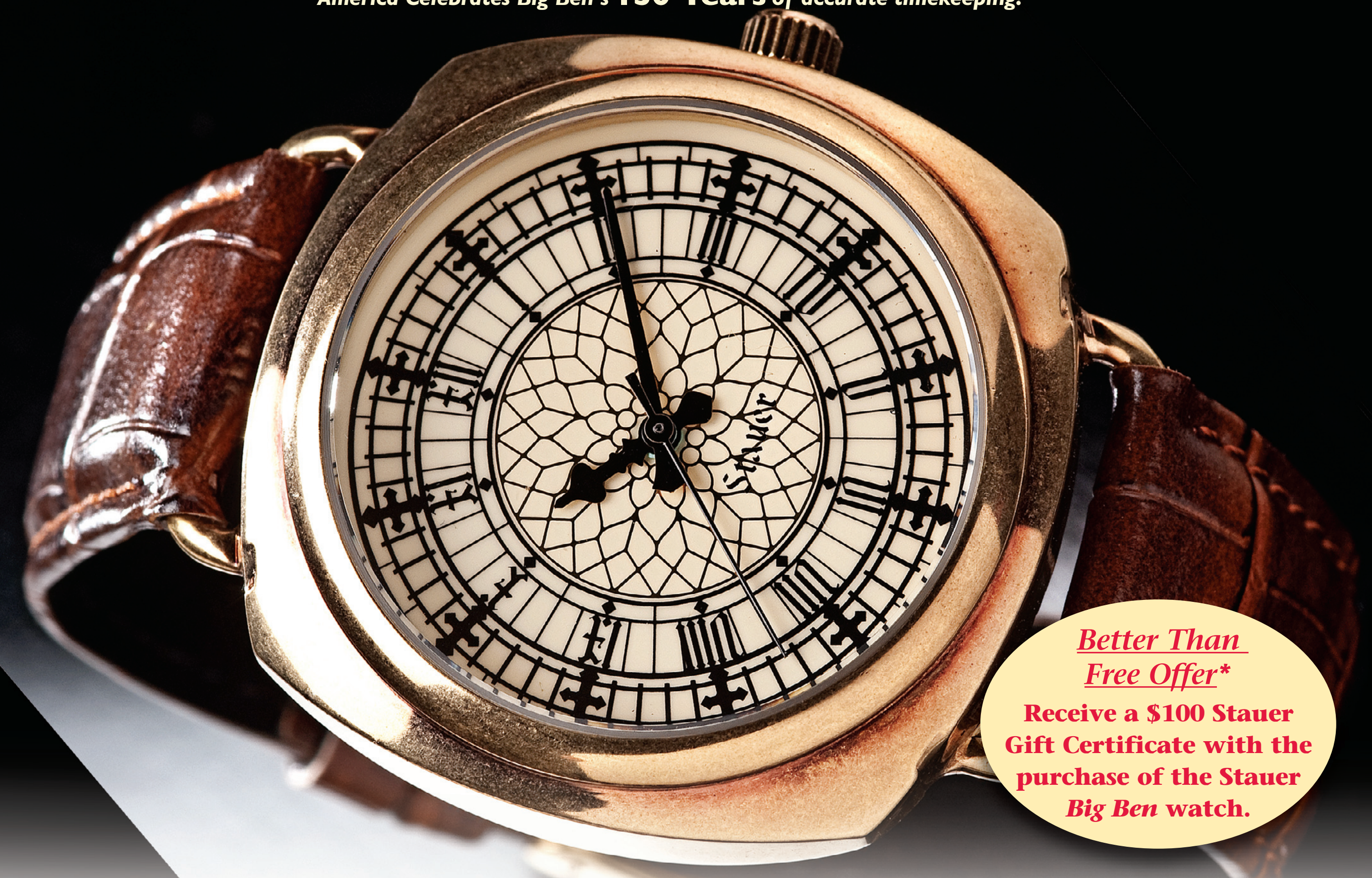
■ The city of New Haven, Conn., gave firefighters a test to secure a promotion. No blacks passed the test, so the city—definitely fearing political agitation and possibly fearing a lawsuit—decided not to promote anyone. It got a lawsuit anyway, as some of the firefighters who earned but were denied promotion went to court charging that their civil rights had been violated. Along the way a few judges, notably including Sonia Sotomayor, tried to bury the case, summarily finding for the city. Now the Supreme Court has ruled in the firefighters' favor. The resolution of the case serves the cause of fairness, but leaves employers, public and private, without clear guidance on how to obey the law. A test with a "disparate impact" on minorities can generate a winning lawsuit, but so can race-conscious efforts to avoid a disparate impact. Congress ought to get rid of the disparate-impact standard altogether. It may be unconstitutional, as Justice Scalia suggests. It is certainly at war with equality.

■ When the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965, it included a provision that required some jurisdictions, most of them southern states, to get Justice Department approval before making any change to their election procedures. The provision was understood to be extraordinary, which is why it was authorized only temporarily and as an emergency measure. Forty years later, the emergency was still going strong, and in 2006 Congress renewed the provision for another quarter-century. A municipal utility district in Texas that has never been alleged to discriminate against blacks or Hispanics (and that did not exist when the act was passed) sued to be free of the preclearance requirement. The Supreme Court unanimously accepted the request. The Court could not have sent a clearer signal to Congress if it had flashed "UPDATE THIS LAW" in neon lights across the street.

ROMAN GENN

■ President Obama says that he wants to let gays serve openly in the military and to repeal the Defense of Marriage Act, but he has not pushed for either policy. He has even defended the Defense of Marriage Act in court (quite appropriately). Obama's position is incoherent. If the Defense of Marriage Act is "discriminatory," as he has said, it is no more so than his own stated opposition to same-sex marriage. Gay-rights groups are mightily upset with Obama, but they are in a box. Having overlooked his position on marriage on the assumption of its insincerity, they cannot sue for betrayal now that it turns out that his insincerity is nondiscriminatory.

■ A second stimulus? As risible as it sounds, President Obama entertains the idea. When asked at a recent press conference whether another stimulus bill might be necessary, he replied, "Not yet." How about not ever? People seem to forget that the $787 billion stimulus package enacted last February *was* the second stimulus—the Bush administration enacted a $168 billion stimulus bill in February 2008. Neither the Republican stimulus (weighted toward tax rebates) nor the Democratic one (weighted toward spending) has delivered anything like the promised results. Bush's stimulus did little to boost consumer spending—consumers tended to save, not spend, their tax rebates—and unemployment continues to rise even though Obama promised that his stimulus


America Celebrates Big Ben's 150 Years of accurate timekeeping!
Stauer
Better Than Free Offer*
Receive a $100 Stauer Gift Certificate with the purchase of the Stauer Big Ben watch.

World's Most Famous Timepiece Shrinks!

Stauer's 150th Anniversary Big Ben Watch is now BETTER THAN FREE! Keep reading...

Here's the truth about Big Ben: it really is big. Huge, in fact. The first time I saw the 315-foot tower, my jaw dropped. Growing up in Manhattan, I was used to tall buildings. I thought gawking was for tourists. I was wrong.

I've been back to London more times than I can count and the sight of Big Ben never gets old. The legendary Gothic Revival tower stands as tall as it did in 1854 when it was first introduced to the world. Except for a few brief snags, the famously reliable clock has chimed through good times and bad, in years of peace and during the scourge of war. Today, Big Ben remains the most recognizable—and hardest working timepiece in the world.

In honor of the beloved London icon's 150th anniversary, we put Big Ben on a diet. Using the clock's famous 23-foot wide face as inspiration, designers at Stauer have created a scaled-down homage that would make even Her Majesty proud. The Stauer ***Big Ben Watch*** features an etched ceramic dial with black hands and markings that echo the 19th-century cast iron and opal glass design of the original. Protecting the exquisite dial is a gold-fused case that fastens with a genuine brown leather strap and is water resistant to 3 ATMs.

Every ***Big Ben Watch*** is expertly constructed using state-of-the-art, computer-controlled, machines for remarkable accuracy that may just surpass the record of the original. And for a limited time, this historic timepiece can be yours for **BETTER THAN FREE!** Not only have we cut the original price in **HALF**, but with every $99 Big Ben Watch, you'll receive a **$100 Stauer Gift Coupon.** It doesn't matter if you're a lifelong Anglophile or you've just always wanted a British accent, right now is the best time to make the most famous face in London yours!

We are so sure that you will be stunned by the magnificent Stauer ***Big Ben Watch*** that we offer a 30-day money back guarantee. If you are not impressed, return it for a full refund of the purchase price. Supplies are limited, so order today.

WATCH SPECS:
- Gold-fused case with ceramic dial
- Crocodile-embossed leather strap
- Fits a 6"–8 1/4" wrist
- Water resistant to 3 ATM

Stauer *Big Ben* Watch ~~$199~~

Now* $99** +S&H ***Save $100

**Better-than-Free Offer*—Receive a $100 Stauer Gift Certificate with the purchase of the Stauer *$99 Big Ben* Watch

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-201-7086

Promotional Code BBW120-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. BBW120-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

package would cause it to level off. According to a recent Rasmussen poll, a plurality of Americans think the rest of the spending in Obama's stimulus should be canceled. How would he pitch another one? Third time's the charm?

■ It is typical of Washington in the wake of a crisis to eschew sound reform for the Big Gesture. Instead of addressing the subsidization of homeownership that drove down lending standards, the Democrats are pushing for a Consumer Financial Protection Agency that would treat junk loans like unsafe toys. Never mind that the Consumer Product Safety Commission failed to intercept the last wave of lead-painted trinkets, indicating that such agencies are flawed watchdogs at best. The subprime-mortgage debacle resulted from a very specific set of policies that led to a proliferation of bad loans in the housing market, yet this new bureaucracy would regulate everything from credit-card lending to no-money-down mattress sales. This proposal is worse than an ineffectual gesture. It is a government power grab in sectors that had nothing to do with the meltdown.

■ Among the many projects hatched under the scar-spangled banner of Bailout Nation is the Temporary Liquidity Guarantee Program, through which the government backs debt sold by banks. The biggest beneficiary of this program is General Electric; ProPublica reports that GE accounts for some 25 percent of the $340 billion in debt backed by the government under the program. The acute reader will have appreciated by now that General Electric is not a bank. Neither is GE Capital, its financial arm. GE does, however, own an obscure savings-and-loan in Utah, and that was enough to get its corporate nose under the taxpayers' tent.

Stimu-Late

If you want a mental model of the Obama stimulus plan, try this: Larry Summers on the deck of the *Titanic*, trying to change the direction of the ship by holding a ragged umbrella in the wind.

The fact is, even the most pathological Keynesian—and Summers certainly would qualify—must be frustrated by the inability of the government to do anything fast. You think it takes a long time to get a green card? Try getting your stimulus project started.

Last February, a plan was hatched to spend almost $800 billion to rescue this economy from recession. It is stunning how little of that money has actually gone anywhere. The website Recovery.gov was set up as part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act; it is simultaneously the part that is functioning most above expectations and the part that is least popular among stimulus partisans—for it provides a weekly tally of how the stimulus is doing.

According to the latest data, which track the stimulus effort through June 19, $152.4 billion of stimulus funds have been made "available." Numbers like that would seem to fuel claims, like that made by Obama himself last month, that the stimulus plan has "created or saved" hundreds of thousands of jobs.

But digging a little deeper at Recovery.gov, one finds that only $52.9 billion was actually *spent* by June 19.

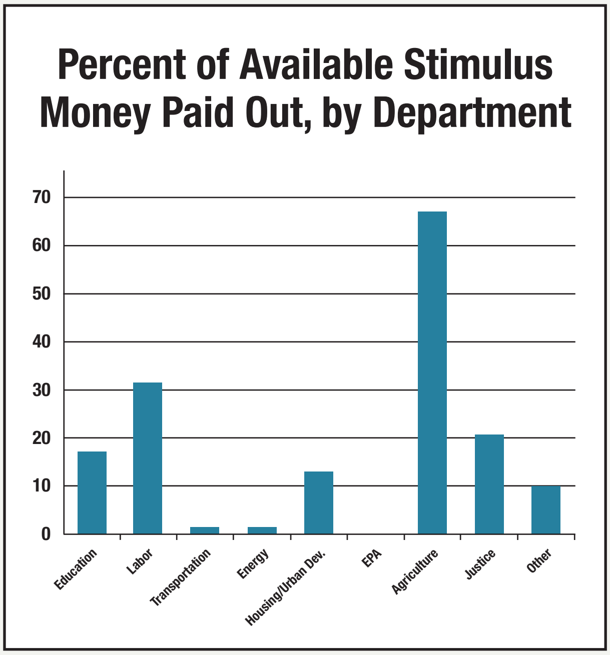
Even that number is too large. Of the $52.9 billion that was spent, $21.5 billion came through the Department of Health and Human Services, which mostly provided grants to state governments. The federal government mailed the checks, but did the states spend it any quicker? Probably not. Another $13 billion that was spent was simply mailed to seniors—rather than invested in infrastructure and job creation—by the Social Security Administration as part of a program with the foreboding name of the "one-time economic recovery payment of 2009." Translation: You won't get anything next year, Gramps.

If you subtract those two items, then Leviathan has spent only about $19 billion. The nearby chart allocates the blame for the tardiness. It indicates by department the proportion of stimulus dollars that has been spent. For most departments, the spigot is essentially off.

The lesson of the chart is clear. In the middle of the biggest economic crisis of our lifetimes, government spending was unable to lift itself enough to have a meaningful economic impact.

Big government is Chinese water torture. Pain comes a drip at a time.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



Percent of Available Stimulus Money Paid Out, by Department

SOURCE: RECOVERY.GOV. CHART SHOWS ALL DEPARTMENTS THAT RECEIVED AT LEAST $1 BILLION, EXCLUDING SSA AND HHS. 'OTHER' INCLUDES ALL DEPARTMENTS THAT RECEIVED LESS THAN $1 BILLION.

All the sound without all the wires.

Shown in Platinum White.

The Bose® Wave®
music system

Just plug it in and hear what you've been missing. With the Bose Wave® music system, there are no stacks of components. No tangle of wires. No dials to adjust. Advanced Bose technologies inside this small system work together to fill the room with the acclaimed performance that has made Bose the most respected name in sound. Audio writer Wayne Thompson of the *Oregonian* calls it "one-of-a-kind" and "my choice for product of the year." You enjoy clear, realistic sound that you may have only thought possible from a much larger, more complicated stereo. In fact, *Forbes FYI* reports that "you'll think you're listening to a…sound system that costs five times more."

A roomful of premium sound…not wires. You buy a sound system to listen to music. Not to spend hours setting up equipment and connecting wires. With the Wave® music system, you'll experience the pleasures of Bose quality sound moments after you open the box. Rich Warren of the *News-Gazette* says this easy-to-use system "will flat out seduce you."

Enjoy the acclaimed performance in so many ways. Listen to the Wave® music system in your living room, kitchen, bedroom, wherever you want better sound. Everything you need is built in: CD/MP3 CD player, FM/AM tuner, clock and alarm. You control them all with a convenient, credit card-style remote. Connect an additional audio source if you like, and hear lifelike sound from your TV or MP3 player. An optional **Multi-CD Changer** makes it easy to listen to your favorite music for hours. As David Novak, the Gadget Guy, says, "It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

Try it for 30 days, risk free. Experience the Wave® music system in your own home risk free for 30 days. Choose your favorite color: Platinum White, Graphite Gray or Titanium Silver. And when you call, ask about making **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* So call now and order the Wave® music system. You'll soon discover how delightfully simple it is to enjoy Bose sound.

FREE shipping with your order.

To order or learn more:

1-800-925-9738, ext. TR562

www.Bose.com/WMS

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

---

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Separate financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges, charged when your order is shipped. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments beginning approximately one month from the date your order is shipped, with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2009 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® music system's distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and free shipping offers not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter/04.

■ Politics, it is said, resembles sausage: best not to see it being made. But watch Frank and Weiner work. That would be Barney Frank and Anthony Weiner, Democrats in Congress who are pressing the government-backed mortgage behemoths Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to relax their lending standards in the case of condominium developments. Under the current rules, Fannie and Freddie—meaning, American taxpayers—will guarantee mortgages only for developments in which 70 percent of the units have been sold. Frank and Weiner would like that requirement reduced—the previous level had been 51 percent. Loosey-goosey lending standards at Fannie and Freddie—encouraged by the selfsame Frank and Weiner—were one proximate cause of the financial crisis; ideally, the firms would be entirely privatized or disbanded, but if they are to continue their taxpayer-supported zombie slog through the real-estate market, they should do so under the most restrictive conditions. Taxpayers ought not relish further government interference.

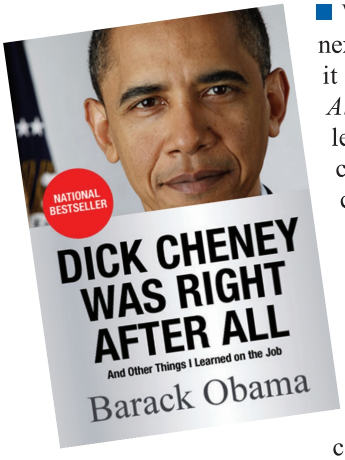
■ Several months ago, a pair of scientists at the Environmental Protection Agency completed a study that questioned many of the assumptions underlying the EPA's doomsday scenario for climate change. The researchers noted that recent temperature data, along with new findings on ocean and solar cycles, atmospheric water vapor, and other factors, suggest that warming will be much less severe than was previously thought. The agency buried the study, refusing to release it to the public or even let it be circulated in-house. The Competitive Enterprise Institute has obtained and published a copy of the report, and has called on the agency to acknowledge it and solicit comments, as is normally done with research papers. But Bush was the one waging a "war on science."

■ A troublemaker says, "Let's you and him fight." A moralizer says, "Let's you and me apologize for him." The Senate passed a resolution apologizing "to African Americans on behalf of the people of the United States for the wrongs committed against them and their ancestors who suffered under slavery and Jim Crow laws." Will aborted children get an apology in 2159? If they do, it will do as much good as this piece of repentance nostalgia. Repeal unjust laws, make compensation where appropriate or possible, but don't strike poses decades and centuries after the fact.

■ Sitting down for a television interview, President Obama swatted a fly—swatted it dead. And that made international news. He said to those around him, "That was pretty impressive, wasn't it? I got the sucker. Whaddya think, Gibbs?" (Gibbs is his press secretary.) He then invited the cameramen to film the dead fly on the floor—his trophy. In a way, this was a "Sister Souljah" moment—PETA and others protested the president's swatting. Obama has not yet apologized, to our knowledge. No, he was icy, accurate, arrogant, determined, and ruthless. Would that he applied more of that to this country's enemies.

■ Have you heard the latest comedy stylings of Sen. John Kerry? He is a Noël Coward for our time: light, smooth, wittily perceptive. While Gov. Mark Sanford was thought to be wandering somewhere on the Appalachian Trail, Kerry said to a Democratic gathering, "Too bad, if a governor had to go missing, it couldn't have been the governor of Alaska. You know, Sarah Palin." Uh, yeah, we know, Big John. Is there a more humorless, stuffy, robotic partisan in American public life (apart from Al Gore)? And but for a relative handful of votes in Ohio, he would have been president . . .

■ Nobody ever considered Richard Nixon a pro-life stalwart, and the latest batch of his White House tapes confirms the impression. He had no public reaction to *Roe* v. *Wade*. Privately he complained that it would lead to sexual permissiveness, but allowed that abortion was "necessary" in some cases—such as rape, and interracial couplings. Two ugly sentiments, combined in a characteristically ugly fashion.


NATIONAL BESTSELLER
DICK CHENEY WAS RIGHT AFTER ALL
And Other Things I Learned on the Job
Barack Obama

■ When Barack Obama writes his next autobiography, he should call it *Dick Cheney Was Right After All*. A White House spokesman let slip (on a Friday evening, of course) that the president is considering an executive order directing the continued detention without trial of dozens of Gitmo detainees. You see, the administration has been giving this a lot of thought, and, well, it turns out that some people who want to kill Americans cannot be "brought to justice" in the civilian system because the evidence (or what is known in wartime as the "intelligence") that tells us they are dangerous cannot be used in federal courts—either because it comes from foreign intelligence services who demand that we not disclose it, or because it is inadmissible under due-process rules. Who knew? And though the president would love to work with Congress on a new legal process for dealing with these detainees, it turns out many Democrats want to release those who cannot be tried. So the president may have to act unilaterally—or go the "cowboy" route, as members of his administration used to say, with a bit more of a snicker than we hear these days.

■ American troops left Iraqi cities. Iraqis celebrated the occasion as a great nationalist victory. The state television network even ran a "Countdown to Sovereignty" clock. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki didn't mention the contribution of American troops to the country's security in his remarks. A distasteful slight—but such are the imperatives of national pride. More important is whether the Iraqi government and its security services can keep the peace in the absence of American outposts in the cities. Our straight-shooting commander on the ground, Gen. Ray Odierno, thinks the new arrangement is workable. But it obviously bears careful watching, and if security conditions deteriorate, the drawback has to be reconsidered. For now, we can marvel at and take pride in how far Iraq has come since 2006—thanks to the extraordinary commitment and sacrifice of our troops. We have bequeathed it a fragile democracy and fragile peace.

Understand the Forces of the Universe

with this Fascinating, 12-lecture DVD Course by a Leading Astronomer and Professor

What forces molded the universe? Are those forces still at work, removing, changing, or adding heavenly bodies even as we gaze upward? Will humanity, and Earth itself, one day be gone? Are we alone?

In an era when science journalism is perhaps more thorough and ambitious than ever before, fascinating explorations of questions like these seem available to us almost every day—provided we have a working understanding of the scientific theories on which they're based.

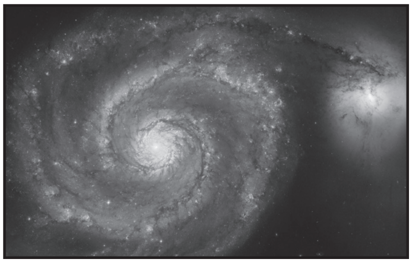
In this lecture series, the astrophysicist who directs the nation's most famous planetarium makes that understanding available to anyone. **My Favorite Universe** is a spirited and intellectually engaging journey through the cosmos and its history, from before the Big Bang to the likely ways in which Earth, and perhaps the entire universe, might end.

An Accessible Yet Awe-Inspiring Course

A natural teacher with a Ph.D. in astrophysics from Columbia University, Dr. Neil deGrasse Tyson has written prolifically for the public, including the series of essays in *Natural History* magazine on which this course is based. And though it was created for a lay audience and is readily accessible, the course is one in which science always takes precedence over drama.

It is certainly entertaining, often funny, even awe-inspiring at times, as befits the subject matter. But clear introductions to essential principles of physics abound throughout these lectures, including density, quantum theory, gravity, and even the General Theory of Relativity. And Dr. Tyson also includes forays into disciplines such as chemistry and biology as needed to explain events.

For example, Dr. Tyson begins one lecture at a point 13 billion years ago, when all space, matter, and energy in the known universe was contained in a volume less than one-trillionth the size of a pinpoint—about the size of an atom. By the time he finishes, the cosmos has been stretched, the planets and Earth formed, and 70 percent of Earth species wiped out by a gigantic asteroid—clearing the way for the evolution of humanity.



NASA, ESA, S. Beckwith (STScI), and The Hubble Heritage Team (STScI/AURA).

The Whirlpool Galaxy, as seen by the Hubble Space Telescope, is about 25 million light-years away from us.

As Dr. Tyson notes, we are made of stardust, just as the planets are. And he has created a course that explains exactly how that came to be, beginning with a grounding in the basic "machinery" of matter, forces, and energy which reveals itself throughout the universe.

The Stark and Violent Beauty of the Universe

With this basic foundation in place, explanations of cosmic events fall into place, and realities of the universe are revealed in stark and often violent beauty.

We learn how Saturn's rings were formed, and why they will eventually be lost. Why low-density conditions are necessary to produce the drama of the northern and southern auroras. How black holes are formed and can wreak havoc. Why planets are round and asteroids are not.

We explore how asteroids moving through space represent threats of extraordinary consequence to Earth. Why the seemingly infinite panorama of celestial bodies revealed by the Hubble Space Telescope's famous "Deep Field" so intrigue astronomers. Why odds seem overwhelmingly in favor of some kind of life out there.

About The Teaching Company®

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses®.

We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. On Being Round
2. On Being Rarefied
3. On Being Dense
4. Death by Black Hole
5. Ends of the World
6. Coming Attractions
7. Onward to the Edge
8. In Defense of the Big Bang
9. The Greatest Story Ever Told
10. Forged in the Stars
11. The Search for Planets
12. The Search for Life in the Universe

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE
GUARANTEED.™

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before September 4, 2009, to receive these savings.

SAVE $160!

OFFER GOOD UNTIL SEPTEMBER 4, 2009

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/3natr

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 33147

Please send me **My Favorite Universe,** which consists of twelve 30-minute lectures plus a Course Guidebook.

☐ **DVD $39.95** (std. price $199.95) **SAVE $160!**
plus $5 shipping, processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**
Special price for shipping, processing, and
lifetime satisfaction guarantee—this offer only.

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply.
For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ DISCOVER NOVUS ☐ AMERICAN EXPRESS Cards

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/3natr
Offer Good Through: September 4, 2009

■ We are thankful that *New York Times* reporter David Rohde, who was kidnapped by the Taliban and held for seven months in Afghanistan and Pakistan, escaped (along with the local Afghan reporter abducted with him) on June 19. Rohde had arranged an interview with a commander from the Taliban; the Taliban did what the Taliban does, taking him hostage. The *Times*, which wears its exposure of U.S. national-defense secrets as a badge of honor—and has published the names of CIA interrogators as well as pushed for publication of top-secret prisoner photos that would endanger American troops—went immediately into information-suppression mode. Out of concern for the life of its reporter, the paper chose not to mention the abduction in its news pages and pressed other organizations to squash the story, obtaining cooperation from Wikipedia and even al-Jazeera. The *Times* and other media outlets were right to prize Rohde's safety over the public's interest in being informed. We only wish the *Times* and its allies made the same judgment when the safety of the American people is at risk.

> The Honduran soldiers who escorted Pres. Manuel Zelaya from his home were acting to protect their country's democracy, not to trample it.

■ Abandoning longstanding U.S. policy, the administration has not only negotiated with a network of secret jihadist cells operating in Iraq (instruments of Iran, which is duplicating the Hezbollah model it has used in Lebanon); it has now released outright one of the terrorists responsible for the murder of five American soldiers in Karbala back in 2007. The release was a transparent effort to trade the terrorist for five British civilians abducted by the same network. But in exchange, the network (which had suggested the hostages were alive) released only the corpses of two, and threatened to kill the rest unless more of its detained operatives were freed. The administration has thus signaled to terrorists that they stand to win valuable concessions by abducting Americans and their allies—even if they kill them.

■ At first blush, the news from Honduras sounds like a sad return to Latin America's past: A democratically elected president has been exiled by the military. But the Honduran soldiers who escorted Pres. Manuel Zelaya from his home were acting to protect their country's democracy, not to trample it. Moreover, they had the full support of the Honduran Supreme Court, which had rejected Zelaya's bid to hold a referendum on constitutional reform. The proposed referendum, illegal without an act of Congress, aimed to launch a "constituent assembly" that would draft a new constitution. Zelaya's ultimate goal was to extend or abolish presidential term limits, mimicking the example of Hugo Chávez and other Latin American populists. Hondurans rightly feared that such a maneuver would set their country on the path to Chávez-style authoritarianism. When the Supreme Court rebuffed him, Zelaya defied its ruling. Along with a large group of followers, he ransacked a military post and seized millions of referendum ballots. While it is always unnerving to see gun-toting officers arrest a president, the move against Zelaya was not a conventional "military coup," but an affirmation of democracy and the rule of law, both of which Zelaya had flouted.

Reminder to Subscribers

■ Several agencies are soliciting your NATIONAL REVIEW subscription renewal without our authorization. Please reply only to NATIONAL REVIEW renewal notices with a return address in Mount Morris, Ill., and ignore all requests for renewal that are not directly payable to NATIONAL REVIEW, as these may be fraudulent. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

■ It sure is nice to have missile defenses when you need them: In anticipation of North Korea's test of a long-range rocket over the Pacific Ocean, Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates ordered interceptors to Hawaii. This allowed President Obama to go on television and tell Harry Smith of CBS News that Americans in Honolulu and elsewhere are safe from North Korean mischief: "Well, first of all, let's be clear. This administration—and our military—is fully prepared for any contingencies." Obama nonetheless plans to slash missile-defense funding by about $1.4 billion in the 2010 budget. Ground-based interceptors in Alaska, the Airborne Laser program, and the prospective basing of a small system in Eastern Europe—all developed with an eye toward countering Iran and North Korea—could suffer. The next time the United States needs missile defenses, it may not have them.

■ As we went to press, the U.S. military was tracking a North Korean vessel called the *Kang Nam 1*, which is suspected of carrying illicit weaponry. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1874 authorizes heightened monitoring of North Korean cargo; but Pyongyang says that any forced inspection will be considered an act of war, and the *Kang Nam 1* commander may refuse to let his ship be boarded. Will President Obama authorize U.S. servicemen to overtake the vessel? Or will he back down in the face of Pyongyang's threats? The former course carries obvious risks, but the latter would set a horrible precedent. To paraphrase Thatcher, now is no time to go wobbly on North Korea. Kim Jong Il's recent provocations demand a show of American resolve. If U.S. officials deem the *Kang Nam 1* worthy of interdiction, they should search it—peacefully, if possible; by force, if necessary.

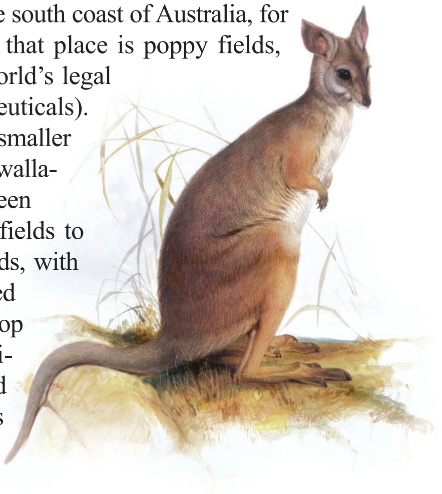
■ Pres. Nicolas Sarkozy attacked the burka in a speech to France's parliament. "In our country we cannot accept that women be prisoners behind a screen, cut off from all social life, deprived of all identity. The burka is not a religious sign. It is a sign of subservience, a sign of debasement. It will not be welcome." Sarkozy's remarks were in keeping with the spirit of French republicanism, which has always imposed its principles more stringently, even bloodily, than the United States. President Obama noted the difference in his Cairo speech, knocking a 2004 French ban on headscarves and other religious symbols in state schools. Yet even in America some states have anti-mask laws, designed to prohibit full Klan regalia; driver's licenses and passports should display full faces. If the burka interferes with public security, or comes to signify not withdrawal from, but violence toward, society, it must be removed or torn away.

■ Every year, the National Endowment for Democracy gives an award, and every year the winner or winners get some presidential attention. This year was somewhat different. NED honored five Cuban democracy activists. Three of them are in prison; two of them are out, for now. Needless to say, no one was able to travel to Washington. But the honorees had a representative in Washington, the sister of one of them—and NED's requests that President Obama meet with her went unanswered. It was the first time in five years that the U.S. president did not grant such a meeting. Only when the *Washington Post* pestered the White House was a presidential statement written and released—just as the NED ceremony was starting. In an editorial, the *Post* asked, "Why doesn't President Obama have time for Cuba's pro-democracy opposition?" Answer: The administration is determined to warm up to the Cuban regime. Barack Obama's election was supposed to cheer people around the world, and it has. Too bad so many of them are dictators.

■ Gerald Martin's *Gabriel García Márquez: A Life*, a definitive biography of the Colombian novelist, was reviewed in the *New York Times Book Review* by Paul Berman and in the *New York Review of Books* by Michael Greenberg. Both reviewers admired Martin's thoroughness and García Márquez's achievement. And both noted the novelist's decades of sycophancy to Fidel Castro. "The world's most popular serious novelist," writes Berman, "does seem to be a flunky of the world's longest lasting monomaniacal dictator." García Márquez "in his relationship to Castro . . . often seemed childlike and eager to please," writes Greenberg. "In 1989 [he] appeared to reach a moral nadir when Castro ordered the execution of . . . two of García Márquez's friends. Living part-time in Cuba García Márquez remained silent." Artists of the past often served the powerful—who else would patronize them?—but the fondness of those who freely admire brutality is an ongoing puzzle. Those who create and order worlds of words may imagine that despots do the same with real men and women. The judgment of two liberal publications does not detract from García Márquez's gifts, but suggests that his servility will be a shameful chapter in his life story—as it is in Pound's or Gorky's.

■ Is Canterbury gay enough? The English city's ombudsman, who evidently is not overburdened with work, has just spent a month investigating the question. The probe began after a local gay group complained that Canterbury, headquarters of the Church of England and home to England's oldest boarding school, did not have a gay bar or community center. According to a news story, the council pointed out in response that it had spent more than £4,000 to "identify the needs of the homosexual community" (not that difficult, one would think), but the ombudsman demanded further evidence that "the pink pound was being catered for." After officials showed that they had promoted "touring plays and musicals" and staged other non-heteronormative events, the ombudsman certified Canterbury as officially gay-friendly. Now residents of any English town that does not have a gay bar can file a similar complaint—although, if they are truly in desperate straits, they might simply open a bar themselves.

■ As we wrestle with wars, recession, epidemics, and climatology, let us pause for a moment to cast an envious glance at parts of the world whose problems are local and tractable: the sleepy island of Tasmania, off the south coast of Australia, for example. One feature of that place is poppy fields, source of much of the world's legal opium (used in pharmaceuticals). Another is wallabies—a smaller species of kangaroo. The wallabies of Tasmania have been breaking into the poppy fields to munch on the flower heads, with regrettable results. "Stoned wallabies create opium crop circles," laments an antipodean news service. We'd gladly trade our problems for yours, mate.



EDWARD LEAR/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY

■ Expectant mothers can now get an even clearer sense of what's growing inside their bodies. A new process called "rapid prototyping" converts data from ultrasound and MRI scans to create 3-D life-size models of unborn babies. An exhibition at the Royal College of Art in London is currently featuring these models, and the process is being trialed at a clinic in Rio de Janeiro. The doctor-designer of the technology anticipates a range of uses for the new technique, including aiding pregnant women who are blind, but some abortion advocates fear that the technology could be used to persuade women not to go through with abortions. This fear is characteristic of the "pro-choice" movement: Information is good and scientific advances are positive, so long as they do not diminish a woman's ability to terminate her pregnancy guilt-free.

■ The venerable College of William and Mary had to stop calling its sports teams the Indians back in the 1980s, for reasons with which we are all familiar. They are now the Tribe. The enforcers of racial sensitivity are never appeased, though, and the NCAA is demanding that William and Mary remove the two-feathers mascot from the Tribe logo, feathers apparently symbolizing cruelty and oppression. The college has opened a contest to find a replacement mascot. Among the suggestions: a stalk of asparagus. The logic is that asparagus served with cheese represents the college colors of green and gold. In related news, that horrid militaristic eagle on the Great Seal of the United States is to be replaced by a tomato. With a slice of well-matured gorgonzola alongside, you have the national colors right there. Who could object?

■ Media technology marches on, as it has since cuneiform tablets (is the magazine baked yet?) yielded to ink on papyrus. Latest news from this ever-advancing front is the demise of Kodachrome, the first commercially successful color-transparency film. Introduced in 1935, Kodachrome dominated color photography through the rest of the 20th century, the first serious competitors coming up only in the 1980s. From records of domestic vacations to photos in *Sports Illustrated*, it's been a Kodachrome world. Eastman Kodak, struggling to restructure itself for the digital age—the company's stock is down 57 percent this year—has announced it will discontinue Kodachrome. "Mama don't take my Kodachrome away," sang Paul Simon back in 1973, on that vinyl LP we used to own.

■ Motto scrawled by students at Berkeley's Black Pine Circle School under a hammer-and-sickle motif: "Capitalism Will Fail." Tuition at Black Pine: $17,000 a year. Capitalism hasn't failed these spoiled snot-goblins. Their parents and teachers have.

■ Journalists come and go in Washington, but for more than 60 years Mary Lou Forbes was an ongoing and formidable presence. She spent the early days of her career at the *Washington Evening Star*, where she won a 1959 Pulitzer Prize for her reporting on the civil-rights movement in Virginia. When the *Star* fell in 1981, she quickly moved on, helping to start the conservative *Washington Times* the next year. At the *Times* she long edited the commentary page, and remained involved with the paper until she was diagnosed with cancer recently. Just two weeks after the diagnosis, she passed away. Readers, coworkers, and friends remember not only her remarkable professional achievements but also her personal warmth. R.I.P.

■ Michael Jackson was such an infectiously lively kid. As a young man he added seduction and a whiff of danger to the mix, all these moods made flesh by his ability to sing and dance (Fred Astaire praised him). His act and the advent of music videos won him fame and money at the level of the Beatles. Then, all at once, it became clear that he was nuts—injured by who knows what family experience, distended by stardom, enabled by hangers-on. F. Scott Fitzgerald said the world wants not innocence, but the loss of innocence. It got both from Michael Jackson's story. Dead at 50. R.I.P.

HEALTH CARE

Medical Arrogance

During his recent ABC infomercial, President Obama continued to insist that the type of reform he has in mind would reduce the cost of health care, improve its quality, and enable people to keep their current insurance policies and doctors. He is wrong on all counts.

Very little in the Democratic bills making their way through Congress would do anything to reduce costs, while the new subsidies they envision would increase costs. That is why the Democrats are talking about both explicit and disguised tax increases. During the ABC special, the president hinted that reform would give doctors and hospitals new incentives to avoid unnecessary care. But since government cannot reliably distinguish between the necessary and the unnecessary, all it can do is encourage less care—and leave it to doctors and other health-care workers to administer the rationing. Obama would be well-advised, for his political health, to do no more than hint at this prospect.

Obama wants to establish a government-run insurer. Because it could pass along its costs to its private-sector competitors, that insurer would quickly come to dominate the market regardless of its quality. (All estimates agree that many millions of people would lose their existing coverage.) It would thus strengthen the government's ability to reshape health care to its specifications. Obama seems entirely too confident that it could do so intelligently.

The better course would be to make it easier for people to buy insurance policies for themselves and their families, so that they would not have to rely on either the government or their employers. Under such a system people would run less of a risk of being denied care that they want, and would also have an incentive to keep an eye on costs. And in a market less fragmented on the basis of employment status, individuals would be better able to buy renewable insurance policies that they could keep even after getting sick.

President Obama could easily get such a plan through Congress if he wanted it and were willing to face the wrath of the Left. By pursuing his political and ideological ambitions, he is risking getting no bill at all—or, worse, one that takes America in the wrong direction.

GLOBAL WARMING

ACES Low

The House passed the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009 (ACES) by a seven-vote margin (44 Democrats voted no). It faces a tougher path in the Senate, where the 60-vote filibuster hurdle makes moderate Democrats, and non-proportional representation makes Democrats from sparsely populated coal-using states, more powerful. The bad news is that these Democrats (and Republicans such as Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins) can probably be had for a price, meaning that if the Senate does pass a bill, it will be even more bloated with special favors than the one approved by the House. The good news is that this is a great fight for conservatives. The bill's defenders are in the unenviable position of supporting an energy tax in the middle of an economic downturn.

The bill is a terrible deal for American taxpayers. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, ACES is projected to impose costs averaging about $1,100 each year on every American household by 2050. What do we get in return? Even if the law works precisely as intended—which is not very likely—the grand result will be that, a century from now, we should expect surface temperatures to be about one-tenth of one degree Celsius lower than they otherwise would be. Global warming will impose costs, but the expected costs of ACES

Give A Child With A Cleft A Second Chance At Life.

The Smile Train provides life changing free cleft surgery which takes as little as 45 minutes and costs as little as $250.

It gives desperate children not just a new smile—but a new life.

> "...one of the most productive charities—dollar for deed—in the world."
> —*The New York Times*

Your support can provide free treatment for poor children with clefts and other problems.

☐ $250 Surgery for one child.
☐ $125 Half the cost of one surgery.
☐ $50 Medications for one surgery.
☐ $___ We'll gratefully accept any amount.

Mr./Mrs./Ms. ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________________ State __________ Zip __________
Telephone ____________________ eMail ____________________
Charge my gift to my credit card: ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover
Account No. ____________________ Exp. Date __________
Signature ____________________
☐ My check is enclosed.

Z09071080ZFAN14

The Smile Train-Dept. Mag.
P.O. Box 96231
Washington, DC 20090-6231

Donate online: www.smiletrain.org or call: 1-800-932-9541

10 YEARS 500,000 SURGERIES
SmileTrain
Changing The World One Smile At A Time.

The Smile Train is a 501 (c)(3) nonprofit recognized by the IRS, and all donations to The Smile Train are tax-deductible in accordance with IRS regulations.

©2009 The Smile Train.

are at least ten times the program's expected benefits, even using the EPA's cost estimates and assuming the full achievement of the legislation's goals.

Our green friends concede that ACES may be a terrible deal by itself, but insist that the United States should lead the world by example and thereby achieve wider benefits. These hopes are vaporous: The strategy amounts to giving away our best negotiating leverage (reducing our emissions only if other nations reduce theirs) in the hope that those nice men who rule China will be shamed into sacrificing their economic interests. The House bill was less naïve—it included a provision that would impose tariffs and other trade penalties on countries that do not enact their own caps on greenhouse gases. But the prospect of a trade war with China proved too much even for Obama to stomach; he indicated that he would not support this provision. Our unofficial policy regarding the rest of the world's emissions would be wishful thinking.

The original sales pitch advertised that cap-and-trade permits would generate $80 billion annually in new government revenue. But that's not going to happen: So many favors have been given away to special interests in order to try to wrangle the votes needed to pass ACES that the CBO now estimates the bill would net just over $2 billion per year in new revenue—about one one-thousandth of this year's budget deficit. Not exactly the wide-open spigot of cash early proponents promised.

A further effect of all of the side deals is that ACES is unlikely to achieve even the limited benefits that are claimed for it. The details of the bill as actually written ensure that there will not be a hard cap on emissions for at least the first decade under ACES. And the normal interest-group pressures are not going to magically disappear in ten years, so the odds are excellent that ACES will never impose a real cap.

Here, then, are the cards Democrats want to deal us: ACES would impose costs at least ten times as large as its benefits, would not reduce the deficit, and would not really cap emissions. It's a losing hand.

AT WAR

The Iranian Front

THE ongoing insurrection in Iran helps to restore faith in human nature. Iranians know that their clerical masters have been abusing power in every area of domestic and foreign policy, and they want none of it. The regime's pursuit of nuclear weapons and its sponsorship of terrorism furthermore place their lives in danger. Presented with an obviously falsified election for the post of president, they seized the chance to take to the streets. This spontaneous outburst of protest will be a source of national pride for future generations of Iranians.

Why Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the country's one-man ruler, was so determined that his candidate, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, had to be president at all costs is not clear. The rival candidates were not revolutionaries, instead visibly shrinking from taking the lead in the unfolding insurrection. But the Khamenei-Ahmadinejad combination has in effect staged a coup.

Reliable figures are hard to come by, but at least 20 people—genuine martyrs for freedom—have been shot dead, and somewhere between three and four thousand arrested, among them some who worked for the rival candidates in the election or who were prominent supporters of theirs. Publications have been closed. The various militias are entering houses and hauling people away simply for standing on their rooftops at night and shouting in time-honored Muslim style that God is Great. Repression has settled on Tehran and other major cities, as the population discovers how vindictive its rulers are going to be.

Khamenei and his regime are in a bind, however. They have discovered that they are not just unpopular but held in open contempt by millions of those for whom they claim to be providing a perfect Islamic republic that is destined one day to command the whole world. Already a range of dignitaries, including more than half the members of the parliament, have refused to attend celebrations for Ahmadinejad, and there are many reports of meetings behind closed doors. For the regime to resort to strong-arm methods in such circumstances is to alienate those it must enlist in its purposes.

ATTA KENARE/AFP

And how are the clerics to explain away the insurrection and reclaim legitimacy? Conspiracy theory has to serve. Foreigners are to blame, their politicians and their media. Iranians on the staff of the British embassy are among those harassed and arrested. The fact is that the chief role played by foreigners has been to facilitate the crackdown. A joint venture of the German giant Siemens and Nokia, the Finnish cellphone company, sold the regime the technology to monitor and block online communications indispensable to the insurrection.

Another unpleasant fact is that at a time when demonstrators in Iran needed support, President Obama spoke only in generalities. Outrage over the Iranian regime's actions came to him slow and late. He appears to believe that negotiations with Tehran have primacy over the defense of freedom and democracy. At the moment it must be said that the insurrection seems more promising—more realistic in its premises—than the negotiations.

No Contract

Bigger, Brighter screen. Large, backlit numbers.

NEW and IMPROVED

It doesn't play music, take pictures, or surf the Internet.

Introducing the NEW Jitterbug®. It's the cell phone that offers simplicity for everyone.

For people like me, who want a cell phone that's easy to use. Over the years, cell phones have become smaller and smaller with lots of complicated features. They are hard to use, and hard to see. But the Jitterbug cell phone has simplified everything, so it's not only easy to use, it's easy to try. No crowded malls, no waiting in line, no confusing sales people, or complicated plans. Affordable and convenient cell phone service is only a toll-free phone call away.

Questions about the New Improved Jitterbug?

Try our pre-recorded Toll-Free Hotline 1-877-651-0847.

The new Jitterbug cell phone makes calling simple!

- Bigger, Brighter LCD screen... easier to see even in daylight
- Comes pre-programmed and ready to use right out of the box
- No contract required
- Live, 24-hour Jitterbug Operators greet you by name, connect calls and update your Phone Book[1]
- Soft ear cushion and louder volume for better sound quality
- Comfortable keypad designed to make dialing easy
- Hearing aid compatible – top ratings in this category
- Familiar dial tone confirms service (no other cell phone has this)
- Service as low as $14.99* a month

jitterbug
888-
666-
0354
CALL?
SAMSUNG
Spkr
on/off
YES
NO
1
2 ABC
3 DEF
4 GHI
5 JKL
6 MNO
7 PQRS
8 TUV
9 WXYZ
*
0 +
#

100% U.S. Based Customer Service

Available in Graphite and White.

Why pay for minutes you'll never use!

Monthly Minutes†	50	100	New
Monthly Rate*	$14.99	$19.99	New
Operator Assistance	24/7	24/7	
911 Access	FREE	FREE	
Long Distance Calls	No add'l charge	No add'l charge	
Voice Dial	FREE	FREE	
Nationwide Coverage††	Yes	Yes	
Trial Period	30 days	30 days	

Other plans available. Ask your Jitterbug expert for details.

FREE Gift

Order now and receive a free Car Charger. A $24 value![5]

Service as low as $14.99* a month and a friendly 30-day return policy.** If you've ever wanted the security and convenience of a cell phone, but never wanted the fancy features and minutes you don't need... Jitterbug is for you. Like me, you'll soon be telling your friends about Jitterbug. Call now.

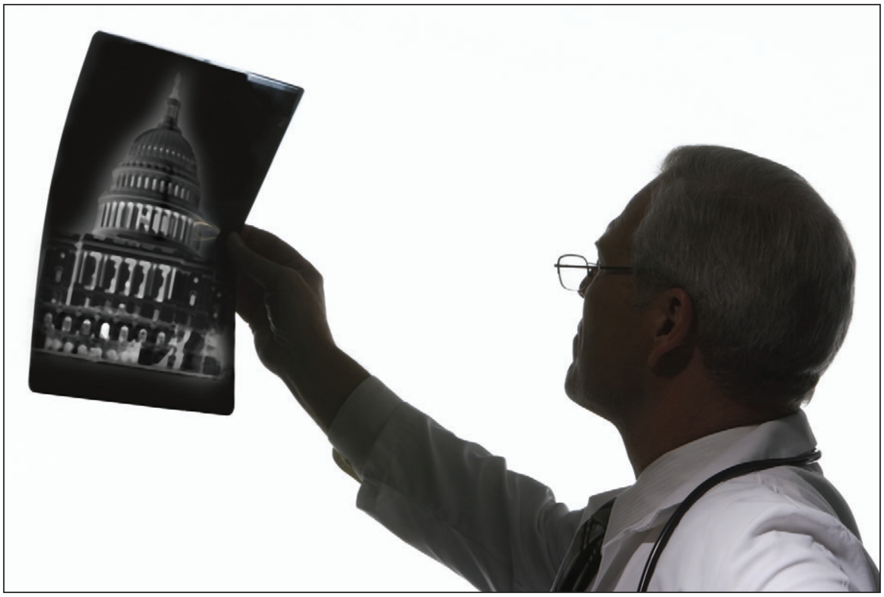
jitterbug® brought to you by firstSTREET® for Boomers and Beyond®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

Jitterbug Cell Phone
Call now for our lowest price.
Please mention promotional code 38667.
1-888-666-0354
www.firststreetonline.com

47349

IMPORTANT CONSUMER INFORMATION: Subject to Customer Agreement, select calling plans and credit approval. Other changes and restrictions may apply. [1]For each Operator service, you'll be charged a 5-minute "Operator assistance fee" in additional to the minutes used both for the length of the call with the Operator and any call connected by the Operator. *Not including surcharges and government taxes. †All plans require the purchase of a Jitterbug phone and a one-time set-up fee ($35). ††Coverage and service not available everywhere. [5]This GreatCall offer is available for a limited time only. **Please visit www.jitterbug.com for further information about terms and conditions. All rights reserved ©2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc. Copyright ©2009 GreatCall, Inc., Jitterbug is a registered trademark of GreatCall, Inc. Samsung is a registered trademark of Samsung Electronics America, Inc. and its related entities.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Obama's Health-Care Gamble

The stakes for the president are high

BY RAMESH PONNURU

ALL of a sudden, Obamacare doesn't look quite as inevitable as Washington thought it was in the spring. The early cost estimates are frightening some Democrats, as are the ideas being thrown about for how to pay for the cost. The health-care industry isn't staying united behind the Democrats. The party's schedule for producing legislation is starting to slip, and Republicans are starting to get their act together.

A June CBS/*New York Times* poll, criticized by Republicans for including too many Democrats, nonetheless found that only 44 percent of the public approves of the job that President Obama is doing on health care. President Clinton had slightly better numbers in January 1994.

Today's Democratic majority is more committed to enacting major health-care legislation than the one Clinton had back then. But the Democrats are encountering several obstacles, some of them of their own creation.

Perhaps the biggest problem is that the public is not solidly on their side. Many Democrats are still in denial about public opinion. Liberal health-policy guru Jacob Hacker recently urged Democrats not to make too many compromises since "there's little question about the popularity of bold action on health care."

At that level of abstraction, Hacker is right. But the public is not deeply committed to any specific set of actions. Gallup recently tested twelve different, and clashing, health-care proposals from across the political spectrum. It found majority support for all twelve. The Kaiser Foundation's polling in June found a similar pattern. Respondents like the sound of almost any proposal. Expose them to obvious counterarguments, though, and support evaporates. More than two-thirds of the public favors "requiring employers to offer health insurance to their workers or pay money into a government fund that will pay to cover those without insurance." But if that requirement caused layoffs, 64 percent of the public would oppose it.

The overall impression the polls create is that the public dislikes the cost and insecurity of health insurance. But most people are reasonably satisfied with their coverage, and do not want any "reform" that might cause them to lose it or pay more for it. Right now most people think that they will come out ahead or even from reform. But it should not be hard to persuade a lot of people that reform will cost them. Stanley Greenberg, a pollster who worked for Clinton during the 1993–94 debacle, recently asked the same questions he asked then and found, to his dismay, that in general "the desire for change and support for reform was slightly stronger 16 years ago."

The passage of time is a second problem. Roy Blunt, the congressman charged with coordinating House Republicans on health care, says, "I think if Tom Daschle had become secretary of health and human services in January, then [the Democrats'] overconfidence may have been justified. But the longer this issue stays out there, the more Americans see the real pitfalls and the likely long-term bad consequences of the president's approach."

The administration felt compelled to enact a large stimulus bill early this year, but that too has made its task on health care harder. The stimulus increased public concerns about federal spending and the deficit. And this has left Obama with unattractive options.

The public concern about the deficit, combined with his own desire to portray liberal health-care reform as a boon to the economy, has led him to claim repeatedly that his policies will reduce health-care costs and even protect the federal government from bankruptcy. The potential for savings has been Obama's central message on health care. So there is added sticker shock when the Congressional Budget Office reports that Democratic health-care legislation will add at least a trillion dollars to the deficit over the next ten years. Those estimates not only raise the price tag of Obama's reforms, but call into question his rationale for them.

To pay for reform, some congressional Democrats have suggested limiting the existing tax break for employer-provided health benefits. The White House has signaled its openness to the change, but it is in a delicate position. As my colleague Jim Geraghty has pointed out, Obama's campaign spent $44 million last year savaging John McCain for seeking to end that tax break (and replace it with another, which the campaign ads did not emphasize). The political danger goes beyond the flip-flop. Limiting that tax break enough to raise serious money would amount to the largest tax increase in 16 years—and the largest middle-class tax increase since

"You Can Change Your Campus With the Help of Young America's Foundation. We Did!"

9-11
NEVER FORGET PROJECT
WWW.YAF.ORG
WISCONSIN

America's Foun
www.yaf.org
YOUNG AMERICA'S
JONAH GOLDBERG
Liberal Fascis

"With the help of Young America's Foundation, you can bring conservative ideas to even the most liberal colleges in the country. Young America's Foundation helped us host four campus lectures and activism projects including the *9/11: Never Forget Project*. These programs expose thousands of young people to conservative ideas each year. My own peers would have never heard conservative ideas if Young America's Foundation didn't give me the tools to be an effective campus activist."

— Sara Mikolajczak, University of Wisconsin

"I met VIPs, including Congressman Schock (above) and Jonah Goldberg (left) at Young America's Foundation events. You can, too!"

You can ignite the Conservative Movement at your college, just as Sara Mikolajczak did at UW-Madison! You can host the *9/11: Never Forget Project* or a breakthrough campus speaker, and Young America's Foundation will help you throughout the entire process. If you're not a student, you can pass these opportunities along to the student in your life.

You can unite your campus community to properly remember the victims of the jihadist attacks by taking part in the *9/11: Never Forget Project.*

Get Active On Campus Today!

800-USA-1776 • www.yaf.org

Bring the *9/11: Never Forget Project* to campus in 2009!

National Headquarters, F.M. Kirby Freedom Center, 110 Elden Street, Herndon, Virginia 20170
The Reagan Ranch Center, 217 State Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

© Copyright 2009 Young America's Foundation

even before then. That middle-class taxes would not rise was another of Obama's campaign promises.

The administration also says that it can pay for reform by cutting $600 billion out of Medicare and Medicaid, something it claims can be done without making patients worse off. If that is true, it suggests that we might want to be careful about spending new money on government health-care programs. We also may want to wait until the savings materialize before we start spending them.

The cost of Democratic plans is one of their biggest vulnerabilities. The other is the possibility that people will lose their existing coverage. Here, too, Obama has compounded the political risk by saying again and again that everyone who likes the health care he has will be able to keep it. The truth is that no comprehensive reform plan, including a free-market one, can live up to that guarantee. The Democratic plans certainly don't. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that under one of the leading Senate Democratic plans, 10 million people would find themselves losing their employer-provided coverage and enrolling in a new government-run insurance program. (Another 10 million would choose to make the switch.)

In recent days, President Obama has been wavering on this point. First, on June 19, an AP story reported that an anonymous White House aide said that the president's promise that people who like their coverage could keep it shouldn't be taken literally. Then Obama himself, in a June 23 press conference, said that what he meant was merely that "the government is not going to make you change plans under health reform." The next day, in his ABC special on health care, he reverted to the old line. You can see the difficulty Obama is in: He has to say both that the system is a complete mess and that people can keep everything the way it is if they so desire; remembering his lines must be tricky.

Whether reform should include a new government-run insurance program is probably the hottest topic in the Beltway debate about health care. The American Medical Association is against it, as are private insurers and the pharmaceutical industry. Republicans are united in opposition, and moderate Democrats are wary. The Left is ecstatic about the idea, though, and Obama has come out in its favor.

The president has employed a clever bit of sophistry in its defense. If a government-run plan would do a poor job, he says, then nobody will choose it. If it is as expensive as the critics say, the argument continues, private insurers have no need to fear being undercut by it. The argument proves too much: It is an argument for government to set up a new company in every industry. It is also fallacious: Government programs have ways of passing their costs to their competitors. Medicare and Medicaid, for example, use their bargaining power with providers to keep their prices down, but private insurance costs more as a result.

And there is little doubt that the Left wants to use the government plan—what it calls the "public option"—to take the country toward a government health-insurance monopoly. The House Democrats' health-care plan allows the public option to tell doctors who participate in it that they cannot participate in private plans. Obama, in the ABC broadcast, suggested that doctors and hospitals be given incentives not to provide allegedly unnecessary care. Doubtless the public option would increase the government's ability to create the incentives it deems proper.

Whenever he starts to have trouble in a debate, Obama reaches for straw men. During the fight over the stimulus bill, he claimed that his Republican critics did not want to do anything to combat the recession. As June ended, he was returning to the theme: Now Republicans are supposedly delighted with the current health-care system and want to make no changes. Meanwhile the president and his aides are scrambling to make a deal, any deal, that keeps the interest groups and nervous congressmen on board.

President Obama has not staked his presidency on health care as overtly as Clinton did in 1993. But no piece of legislation is more important to his claim to have inaugurated a new political era in which Clintonian compromise with conservatism is no longer necessary. If the Democrats cannot enact a liberal bill, Obama will have proven unable to deliver the change liberals have been waiting for. His presidency will, on its own terms, have failed. That does not mean that Obama cannot go on to have a successful presidency—but if he does it will be different, and less liberal, than the one he hopes to have.

At some level Democrats understand the stakes. Right now that's the biggest thing Obama has going for him. **NR**

Scapegoats in White Coats

Doctors are not to blame for the high cost of medical services

BY JOHN C. GOODMAN

LISTEN to almost any diatribe against the health-care system and you will hear the same refrain: We are getting too little care and paying too much for it. And, more and more, we are hearing that the villains behind this are not oppressive government regulators or meddlesome insurance-company bureaucrats—but doctors.

Doctors, after all, make all the important decisions, editorializes the *New York Times*: "Many do a lot more than is medically useful—and often reap financial benefits from over-treating their patients. . . . Some are unabashed profiteers." If we really want to fix things, says Steven Pearlstein of the *Washington Post*, all that "really matters is changing the ways doctors practice medicine"; everything else "is just tinkering at the margin."

President Obama himself made the case to the American Medical Association (AMA). He began by running through the litany of cost-control proposals that he advanced during last year's campaign: preventive medicine, electronic medical records, evidence-based medicine, coordinated care, etc. But then the president admitted (apparently for the first time) what his advisers have said many times: These reforms will make only "a dent" in the problem. The real reason for out-of-control medical spending, he told the doctors, was unnecessary care. Drawing on research by investigators at Dartmouth, he said: "McAllen, Texas, is spending twice as much as El Paso County—not because people in McAllen are sicker and not because they are getting better care. They are simply using more treatments—treatments they don't really need; treatments that, in some cases, can actually do people harm by raising the risk of infection or medical error. And the problem is, this pattern is repeating itself across America."

Mr. Goodman is the president of the National Center for Policy Analysis.

Technology Simplified

Finally…A Computer That's Designed For YOU, Not Your Grandchildren!

NEW

…It's easy to read. It's easy to see. It's even easier to understand.

Just plug it in and GO!!!

designed for
SENIORS®
GO COMPUTER
GO™

Big Bright Screen

GO

One-Touch Screen Magnification

GO

Large Over-Sized Keyboard

GO

"GO" Button Makes Sure You Never Get Lost

GO

So simple to set-up
and use. There's no need for
computer classes
or instructional DVD's

I know what you're thinking. Another computer ad. Another computer that you'll have to ask your kids and grandkids how to use. You'll hit the wrong button, erase the screen and that will be it. Into the closet it goes. Well, have we got good news for you. This simple-to-use computer was developed and tested by MyGait, the industry leader in making computing easy for seniors. Until now, it was only available in Senior Centers and Retirement Living Communities. Now, for the first time ever, it's available to you.

Easy to use and worry-free. This extraordinary computer comes ready to use right out of the box. All you do is plug it in. Once you're online, the navigation is simple– just press GO! You never get lost or "frozen."

A key part of the Designed for Seniors® GO Computer is that you never have to worry about maintaining your computer… we do it for you… remotely. So it never slows down, never crashes, never freezes, and you never have to worry about spam or viruses. We eliminate and prevent these problems around the clock— for less than seventy five cents per day. Imagine— never having to call your neighbors or relatives or a "repairman" to come "fix" your computer. You never have to worry that your emails, files, or photos will be "lost". And in the unlikely event that your computer does develop a problem— we'll send you a replacement absolutely free. And since your data is remotely stored, you'll immediately have access to all of your original emails, files, and photos… instantly. No other computer can do that!

Since it's been created with seniors in mind, the display is easy to read and simple to navigate. All you do is follow the green "GO" button to any place your heart and mind desires. No confusing icons, tool bars, cascading windows, or computer jargon.

Call now for a 30 day home trial. It's a shame that the very people who could benefit most from Email and the Internet are the one's that have the hardest time accessing it. Now, thanks to the GO Computer, countless older Americans are discovering the wonderful world of the Internet every day. Isn't it time you took part? Call now, and a patient, knowledgeable product expert will tell you how you can try it in your home for 30 days. Call today.

> *"I just received my GO Computer™ and I'm 90 years of age. I am communicating daily with someone in my family via email and sometimes even receive a new picture from them. Between answering emails, surfing through some stores, and playing solitaire online, I am staying busy!"*
>
> Helen M,

designed for SENIORS®
GO COMPUTER™

Call now for our special introductory price!
Please mention promotional code 38666.

1-877-681-7913

firstSTREET
for Boomers and Beyond

1998 Ruffin Mill Rd.
Colonial, Heights, VA 23834
www.theGOcomputer.com

All Rights Reserved © 2009 TechnoBrands, Inc.

57673

GO ***…send and receive emails***
Keep up with family and friends.

GO ***…"surf" the internet***
Get current weather & news.

GO ***…play games online***
hundreds to choose from!

Tested for over 8 years in Retirement Living Communities and Senior Centers.

ADVERTISEMENT

Free safes being doled out to public

Armored Safe giveaway ends public worry for those who rush to buy up hoards of brilliant, never-circulated U.S. Gov't issued coins that never lose their cash value

DELIVERY
CAUTION
WORLD MONETARY EXCHANGE RESERVE

■ **HELP IS ON THE WAY:** This never-before-seen photo captures the rapid shipment of free Presidential Armored Safes that are now being shipped to U.S. citizens all across the country. The World Reserve is handing out the Armored Safes free to the general public who rush to beat today's published deadline to buy up the newly released World Reserve Collection of never-circulated U.S. Gov't issued coins and currency. Those who get through by calling the National Delivery Hotline at 1-866-964-2951 and beat the 7 day order deadline will get the Armored Safes for free.

By Shawn Oyler

UMS - Imagine finally getting something that will never lose its value.

Sounds too good to be true?

Well, it's true and word is quickly spreading about the free handout of Armored Safes that are being stocked full of never-circulated U.S. Gov't issued coins and currency that by law will never be minted again.

These free Armored Safes are being turned over to the general public who make it in time to beat the order deadline for their share of the hoard of brilliant, never-circulated U.S. Gov't coins and currency before the 7 day shutoff.

"The frantic demand for U.S. Gov't coins has caused the U.S. Mint® to officially halt the sale of many of its most valuable coins," said lead consultant for the World Reserve Thomas C. Harris, Retired Deputy Director of the U.S. Treasury Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

"Today, the World Reserve began to release this hoard of U.S. Gov't coins and currency in a free Armored Safe to the general public. Having valuable U.S. Gov't coins serves as an economic life raft. This valuable Collection will never, never, never lose its face value. You will always have something worth a lot of money," said Harris.

Here's the best part, among the U.S. Gov't issued coins and currency that everyone gets is the highly sought after American Eagle 1-ounce silver bullion coin made from solid .999 fine silver, 250 new 2005 U.S. Buffalo Nickels in sealed rolls, a banker's stack of historic $2 bills and a full vault tube of the Presidential Golden Dollar Coins.

Here's why that is so important. Just think if you would have saved the same number of never-circulated Eisenhower Dollar coins from 1974. Remarkably, they would now be worth 500% more in collector value.

This gives you a hint that these are not the same grade as the coins found in loose change, or from the local bank. In fact, these coins remain in brilliant, never-circulated condition if left sealed and untouched.

U.S. Gov't Savings Bonds used to be a favorite way to keep money safe and popular to give as gifts. But no one can take a Savings Bond and go buy something with it.

That's why this hoard of valuable coins gives everyone the comfort of having full control of their money. No matter what, they will never lose their U.S. cash value.

If times ever get really tough any coin in the hoard could be used to buy anything. But unless it is a good reason, only a fool would do that because this personal hoard of money is already worth so much more in collector value.

"So many people are buying up these coins. Even for those people who give away some of their collection as gifts, they are keeping the Armored Safe for themselves," said Robert Anthony, Director of the private World Reserve Monetary Exchange.

"This Safe is one of the absolute best places to keep valuables and important papers. People will now have a safe place to store their wills, guns, jewelry, antiques, keys, coins and even cash," Anthony said.

"The only problem the Safe creates is when it's time to read your Will. You need to make sure everyone knows who you want to leave it to," he said.

"When Americans get their hands on this Safe and their very own personal hoard of U.S. Gov't Coins, they'll really do a double take. Everyone will feel like they just won the lottery," he said. ■

ADVERTISEMENT

How to get the free Armored Safes

All those who beat the 7 day order deadline for each personal hoard of U.S. Gov't issued coins and currency from the World Reserve Collection will actually be awarded the Presidential Armored Safes absolutely free.

TO GET THE FREE SAFES USE THIS

FREE CLAIM CODE:
US 6317

AND CALL **1-866-964-2951**

BEFORE THE 7 DAY ORDER SHUTOFF

Eligibility: Certain restrictions apply: Open to the public only, sorry no dealers. Those who miss the 7 day deadline will be turned away from this free offer and required to wait for future announcements, in this or other publications. The entire World Reserve Collection must be obtained to get the safe free.

Terms & Conditions: To receive delivery of your free Armored Safe, you'll only need to cover $149 for the first shipment of coins. Then the same amount for the last remaining shipment to cover the entire collection of 267 U.S. Gov't coins. THE NO-WORRY GUARANTEE ENSURES THAT REFUNDS BE GRANTED FOR ALL ITEMS PROPERLY RETURNED, LESS SHIPPING FOR 90 DAYS FROM THE DAY YOU RECEIVE YOUR SAFE AND FIRST SHIPMENT. THAT MEANS, CANCELLATION WILL REQUIRE THE RETURN OF THE FREE ARMORED SAFE. FAILURE TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE REMITTANCE FOR THE SAFE OF FOUR HUNDRED AND THIRTY SIX DOLLARS. THE WORLD RESERVE MONETARY EXCHANGE, INC. IS NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, A BANK OR ANY GOVERNMENT AGENCY. THE INCREASE IN COLLECTIBLE VALUE OF CERTAIN PRIOR ISSUES OF U.S. COINS DOES NOT GUARANTEE THAT CURRENT ISSUES WILL ALSO INCREASE IN VALUE. OH AND FL RESIDENT TRANSACTIONS REQUIRE THE REMITTANCE OF APPLICABLE SALES TAX. SORRY NO SHIPMENTS TO VT AND MA RESIDENTS. ADVERTISEMENT FOR WORLD RESERVE MONETARY EXCHANGE, INC. 8000 FREEDOM AVE., N. CANTON OH 44720.

©2009 WRME P4632A OF8278R-1

LIKE WINNING THE LOTTERY: Everyone gets the personal hoard consisting of 267 never-circulated U.S. Gov't coins and currency including 12 Presidential Golden Dollar Coins in a sealed Vault Roll and a heavy vault brick containing 250 never-circulated U.S. Buffalo Nickels and, best of all, a solid .999 fine silver American Silver Eagle and a banker's stack of 4 historic $2 bills. If times ever get really tough, any coin in this collection could be used to buy anything. Keep it as long as you can because this hoard is already worth so much more than face value.

NO MORE WORRIES: Carol Ford of Perry, OH said she hit the jackpot when her free Armored Safe was delivered. "I already have some old coins, but I wanted these U.S. coins as a nice nest egg. Now I can keep all my important papers and my Dad's gun in my new safe," she said.

7 Smart places to stash your cash

By Robert Anthony

So you're still hiding money under the mattress or in the bread box?

Well, you're not alone. Ever since financial institutions have been dropping like flies, millions of Americans have stopped relying solely on their banks.

1. Be sure your bank is insured. If you're not sure if your bank is FDIC insured find out or get your money out. They only have enough cash on hand to cover about 2% of nationwide deposits. So it's not always wise to keep all your eggs in one basket.

2. Start and grow a coin collection. Coin collections are tangible assets that will always keep their face value, instead of just owning stocks that could depreciate or lose you money.

3. Keep cash safe at home. Cash is King. Believe it, but remember not to keep it in a thief's favorite spot; like in the bread box or the mattress. These will never have the protection that a quality home safe can provide.

4. Savings Bonds, an old favorite. Savings Bonds are an easy way for your money to stay safe in the future. However, if lost or stolen they could be difficult to replace unless the serial number was kept in a safe place.

5. Gold and silver still shine. If you own gold or silver, great, hold on to it. But if you don't, one of your best bets is to try to get as many U.S. Gov't issued gold and silver coins as you can.

6. Hold on to real estate. With interest rates at historic all-time lows the market is sure to recover and property values will once again bounce back. So those who hold on to their homes for the long term will likely reap the benefits of these investments.

7. Buy a good safe. Home safes become an absolute necessity during economic turmoil. But, because of the huge spike in recent sales, safes may be hard to come by.

With all this you'll be much safer, just in case your bank is the next to fail. ■

So what's the answer? Government, the president said, must change the way physicians are paid. It must discover the best practices, reward doctors who follow them, and penalize those who don't. Instead of letting doctors do whatever they think is in the best interest of their patients, we must force them to follow national standards set by federal agencies. Government, in other words, must begin telling doctors how to practice medicine.

The doctors at the AMA meeting gave the president a standing ovation. Were they just being polite? Or did they not understand what they were hearing? If not, they soon will.

The president's point man on these issues, budget director Peter Orszag, is more explicit. Dartmouth researchers have been studying Medicare spending patterns for years, says Orszag, and—just as with McAllen and El Paso—they've discovered wide variations in Medicare costs that seem to have no relation at all to the health outcomes of the patients. Assuming that there is no reason to spend more rather than less, the Dartmouth group concludes that if doctors across the country practiced medicine the way doctors in the lowest-spending areas do, we could reduce total Medicare spending by one-third with no harm to patients. Orszag calculates that the potential savings could be a whopping $750 billion a year. That's enough to cover about half the cost of Obama's health-reform plan.

Of course, to get even close to realizing that level of savings, doctors almost everywhere would have to change—in some cases, radically—what they are now doing. And that, of course, would require a lot of friendly persuasion. But with the power of the purse (government already spends almost half the U.S. health-care dollars), Orszag reasons that this is doable.

There's only one problem: The entire edifice on which this thinking is erected may be completely wrong. Is it really true that doctors around the country spend vastly different resources to achieve the same outcomes? The implicit assumption Orszag is making is that the doctors who treat Medicare patients must be treating their non-Medicare patients the same way. But this assumption, it turns out, is not true. Differences in Medicare spending are, in many cases, offset by spending on other patients. For example: Although Texas is fifth from the top in Medicare spending per capita, it is seventh from the bottom in per capita spending for the state's population as a whole. And California is eleventh from the top in Medicare spending, but eighth from the bottom in spending overall.

What's going on here, probably, is "cost shifting." When Medicare underpays, doctors, hospitals, and other providers try to recoup their losses by overcharging other patients. To the degree that cost shifting is going on, we would expect an inverse relationship: When Medicare pays less, private patients tend to pay more, and vice versa.

WANTED!
REWARD
R. GENN

ROMAN GENN

Take McAllen, Texas, for example. This is an area with large numbers of low-income, uninsured patients—to say nothing of all the immigrant patients who need only wade across the Rio Grande to get U.S.-quality health care. It may be that McAllen providers are running up Medicare charges in order to subsidize the free care they are giving so many others.

And that brings us back to the original question: How much could we save by changing the way doctors practice medicine? In a study soon to be released by the National Center for Policy Analysis, Texas A&M economists Andrew J. Rettenmaier and Thomas R. Saving say that when the focus is on health spending for the whole population, Peter Orszag's dreams are dashed: There is in fact very little to be gained by trying to force doctors across the country to emulate their lowest-spending peers.

Does all this mean that the Dartmouth researchers are way off the mark? Not entirely. One of their important findings is that there really are centers of excellence that practice low-cost, high-quality medicine. Take the Mayo Clinic: If everyone in America went to Mayo for his health care, we could cut health-care spending by one-fourth and the quality of care would go up. If everyone in America went to Intermountain Healthcare in Salt Lake City, we could cut health spending by one-third and quality would increase. The problem is, not everyone can go to these facilities. Even worse: We don't know how to replicate their behavior. We don't know how to make every clinic a Mayo Clinic, or every hospital like Intermountain Healthcare.

In some ways, the health-care system is similar to the education system. In both, we find pockets of excellence. But since there is no real market, there are no sustained financial rewards for excellence. To the contrary, excellence is usually penalized. Most hospitals, for example, make money on their mistakes. If patients have to be readmitted because they were not cared for properly, the hospital takes the opportunity to bill again. By contrast, a facility like Mayo, with a low readmission rate, loses money because it is efficient. The profit-maximizing thing to do in health care is to provide high-cost, low-quality care rather than the other way around.

Which brings us back to the doctor. Have you ever noticed that the entry space of the offices of lawyers, accountants, engineers, architects, and other professionals is called a "reception area"—and that at doctors' offices, by contrast, it is called a "waiting room"? There's a reason for that. The primary way Americans pay for health care is the same way the British, Canadians, and Europeans do: We pay not with money, but with time.

Were doctors free to deal with their

Secret Cache of Popular First-Year-of-Issue Gold Coins Discovered in British Estate Sale!

Entire hoard secured and brought to the United States for public sale

FINE GOLD $\frac{1}{10}$ OUNCE
ANGEL
ISLE OF MAN ELIZABETH II
1984

Struck in 91.7% Gold and measuring 16.5 mm, these stunning one-tenth ounce 1984 British Gold Angel proofs were the very first proof Gold Angels ever struck and the very first Gold Angels of the modern era.

London—Gold coin experts have expressed astonishment over the discovery of a formerly secret cache of British Gold Angel coins that disappeared over 20 years ago—and were recently found at an estate sale in the English countryside!

Existence of this remarkable find was announced last week at a conference in London by rare gold coin experts. Due to recent gold prices, these buyers scour Europe in search of gold coins to fill an unprecedented worldwide demand. A small ad for the estate sale posted on a pub bulletin board led directly to recovery of these long hidden British Gold Angels.

Members of the team explained that upon examination, the "many old coins" mentioned in the ad turned out to be "many gold coins," a small accumulation of First Year 1984 British Gold Angels struck for the Isle of Man, an island off the Coast of Britain in the Irish Sea.

British Gold Angel coins were first struck during the War of the Roses in 1465. In 1984, production of Gold Angels resumed. The coins get their name from the image of the Angel Michael slaying a dragon, a historic image of Great Britain. Due to advancements in technology, for the first time ever these 1984 Gold Angels were struck in Gem Proof condition.

Old English Estates can sometimes yield up great gold coin finds. It is uncertain who actually accumulated this hoard of First Year 1984 Gold Angels, but our gold buyers did not hesitate to close the deal when it was presented to them. Gold coin collectors worldwide are delighted with the reappearance of these highly sought after British Gold Angels.

The fact that these coins had not been seen in over 20 years was surprising in and of itself, but after examining the quality of the coins, the team members realized the coins were in such amazing condition that they snapped up the entire hoard and quietly spirited them to the United States, where they are being sold to the public by GovMint.com, the American firm handling the release.

With gold coins in such high demand this find has been recognized as particularly exciting. These are some of the most desirable first-year British Gold Angels in existence. The bad news is that with the limited number of these coins available, a rapid and complete sell-out is virtually guaranteed.

First-year editions are highly sought after

Opportunities like this don't come around often. In fact, many first editions are incredibly difficult to purchase on the market in the years following their release. The first-year-of-issue 1984 British Gold Angel is just such a coin.

The gold team explained that what makes the coins so special is that not only are these some of the most beautiful gold coins in the world, these first-year 1984 Angels were named "Gold Coin of the Year" in the 1984 Coin of the Year (COTY) awards, the "Academy Award" for coins. Anyone presented with the opportunity to hold this coin in his or her hands will agree, it is one of the most spectacular coins ever minted.

Growing market spurs demand for gold coins

The American coin collector market has expanded from 3 million active collectors in 1999 to an estimated 130 million today. As a result, gold coins have been in such high demand recently that many are increasingly difficult to find regardless of price.

The 1984 British Gold Angel is the very FIRST Proof Gold Angel ever struck and the FIRST Gold Angel of the modern era. As the very first coin in this immensely popular worldwide series, it is likely to always be coveted by collectors.

This British Gold Angel has one-tenth ounce of 91.7% gold. This intrinsic gold content is highly sought after given today's gold price.

Just like diamonds, a coin's grade makes a huge difference in price. Needless to say, the coins collectors desire above all others are those in top-grade condition. Each coin in this opportunity has been graded Gem Proof, the grade serious collectors demand.

Now available to the U.S. public

Given their first-ever status, their high gold quality, top Gem Proof condition, and award-winning design, you could expect to pay over $600 for the 1984 Gold Angel. But due to this fortunate discovery, for a limited time they are available to the public for only $259 each (plus shipping and handling). These Angels are disappearing fast and are being sold on a first-come, first-served basis, so call immediately toll-free at 1-888-201-7667. Mention offer code GAN129.

Note: GovMint.com is a private distributor of worldwide government coin issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government. Facts and figures were deemed accurate as of June 2009. ***Prices and availability subject to change without notice.*** ©GovMint.com, 2009

clients as other professionals do, they would recognize that the patient's time is valuable. Competition for patients would induce doctors to find ways of lowering the time cost of care as well as the money cost. But, unlike all other professionals, doctors have no power to repackage and reprice their services. Medicare, for example, has about 7,500 tasks it will pay for, with a predetermined price for each. When the doctor is doing one of the 7,500 reimbursable things, he or she can bill Medicare. If a task is not on the list, no matter how patient-pleasing it is, there will be no payment. Most private insurers pay the same way.

As a result, doctors relate to patients today pretty much the same way they did 100 years ago. Sometime early in the 20th century, all the other professions discovered the telephone—but even today, most doctors do not consult by phone, even for routine maladies. The reason: Telephoning, for all practical purposes, is not on Medicare's list of reimbursable tasks. Similarly, everybody e-mails everybody these days—except doctors and patients. This is another activity that is not on Medicare's list. Most doctors don't have their client records on a computer. This is all the result of an antiquated, inflexible, bureaucratic, and dysfunctional system of third-party payment of medical bills.

But is any of this the *doctor*'s fault? Only in a very roundabout way: The AMA agreed to this method of payment. The typical practicing physician, however, did not agree. Most would undoubtedly like to have the same flexibility that other professionals have. And a growing number are gaining that freedom.

Once called "concierge doctors," and today called "direct-practice doctors," these are physicians who refuse all third-party payment. They typically consult by phone and e-mail. They usually have electronic records and prescribe electronically. They help their patients navigate the complexities of the health-care system—negotiating lower prices, say, for MRI scans and specialists' services. Some even make house calls.

The direct-practice physicians are illustrating that doctors are not the problem—they are the solution. They do not need more orders from third-party-payer bureaucracies. What they need is to be liberated. **NR**

Our Common Foe

Obama should support the Iranian people by speaking out against their oppressors

BY MICHAEL RUBIN

TEAR gas was still wafting through the streets of Tehran when, at a June 23 White House press conference, *The Huffington Post*'s Nico Pitney conveyed an Iranian's question to President Obama: "Under which conditions would you accept the election of [Mahmoud] Ahmadinejad? And if you do accept it without any significant changes in the conditions there, isn't that a betrayal of what the demonstrators there are working towards?"

Obama avoided a direct answer, saying only that the Iranian government should "recognize that there is a peaceful path that will lead to stability and legitimacy and prosperity," and expressing hope that the clerics would take it. The president's implicit acceptance of Ahmadinejad is a mistake. Obama may express concern about how the election was handled, but to Iranians, the real issue is a much broader question: the regime's very legitimacy.

In the Islamic Republic, elections are not democratic. The Guardian Council, a group of strictly traditionalist mullahs, must approve all candidates for office, and in the most recent election, it allowed less than 1 percent of would-be candidates to run. Why then hold elections? To demonstrate public support for the regime. As Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati, chairman of the Guardian Council, explained two days before the vote: "The enemies have always tried to question the legitimacy of the regime by trying to reduce public participation in elections. The people must blind the eyes of the enemies by vast participation in elections."

The Iranian rulers' equation of the election with a blessing of their regime's legitimacy makes neutrality difficult. To accept the election is to endorse theocracy. Indeed, this is how young Iranians marching on the street frame the question. The clumsy disfranchisement of former prime minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi's supporters may have sparked the recent unrest, but the protests turned into something bigger when demonstrators began chanting, "Death to the dictator!"—meaning Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the "supreme leader" who claims authority from God. Such cries are calls for the downfall of the theocracy itself.

So why has Obama sought to chart a neutral course? His attempt to walk a tightrope between the desire not to meddle and the imperative to express American outrage at brutal scenes on Tehran's streets is based on two false assumptions—one legal and the other strategic—as well as a misplaced moral concern.

The president's first mistake, an exaggerated respect for international rules, appears to stem from his advisers' interpretation of the Algiers Accords. These were the Jan. 19, 1981, agreement that led to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's release of the hostages held at the U.S. embassy in Tehran. In a last-minute Iranian addition to the agreement, which was accepted by Warren Christopher, the Carter administration's deputy secretary of state, the United States pledged "not to intervene, directly or indirectly, politically or militarily, in Iran's internal affairs." That sounds pretty categorical, but Obama should pay the prohibition no heed.

Christopher was negotiating under intense time pressure to obtain the hostages' release, a goal achieved the next day, minutes after Reagan's inauguration. Subsequently, Washington and Tehran used the accords only as a means to regulate financial claims. To be sure, the Iranian government sometime cites the Algiers Accords to declare U.S. policies—for example, the Clinton administration's economic sanctions—illegal, but every U.S. administration has treated such claims as baseless.

Only under George W. Bush, amidst his administration's efforts to boost radio broadcasting into Iran and its internal debate over funding for Iranian democracy and civil-society groups, did the State Department accept Iranian interpretations of the Algiers Accords and question whether policies under consideration were compatible with it. The debate over that question was fierce, but it ended when former national security advisers consulted

Mr. Rubin is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a senior editor of Middle East Quarterly.

You deserve a factual look at . . .

The Two-State Illusion

Would it solve the Middle East problem?

There seems to be almost universal consensus that in order to bring peace to the Middle East the creation of a Palestinian state is unavoidable. What is more, such a "solution" is the policy of the United States.

What are the facts?

The lesson of Gaza. In previous *hasbarah* (educating and clarifying) messages we made clear that a Palestinian state would be impossible for Israel to accept. It would lead inevitably to Israel's destruction. The reason is primarily the lesson learned from the Gaza experiment. Under pressure from most of the world, Israel evacuated Gaza, displacing hundreds of families who had lived there for generations and who had built substantial communities and extensive agricultural installations. Instead of making even the least gesture of acknowledgment and gratitude, the Palestinians, almost from the very first day of their "liberation" from the hated Jews, began to lob rockets into Israel. Ultimately, Israel was forced to defend itself against those attacks and invaded Gaza in force. There was much damage and many casualties. As could be expected, "world opinion" condemned Israel's defensive action and called it "disproportionate."

> "...the ultimate goal is not...
> a Palestinian state...
> but the destruction of Israel."

If Israel were foolish enough to yield to the unrelenting pressure and were to turn Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") over to the Palestinians, it would find itself surrounded by enemies, whose ultimate goal is not the creation of a Palestinian state but the destruction of Israel – to use the common rhetoric, to wipe Israel off the map and push the Jews into the sea.

Statehood opportunities rejected. The reality is that the Palestinians are not really interested in their own independent state. Such a state never existed and the concept of a "Palestinian" people is a fairly new one. If the Palestinians were really interested in their own state, if that were their aspiration, they could have had such a state side-by-side with Israel, for a very long time. The first partition of Palestine – all of which, by the Balfour Declaration and by the mandate of the League of Nations was to be the Jewish home – occurred in 1921. Winston Churchill, who was then the Colonial Secretary, split the mandated territory, allocating the great bulk to the Arabs for the creation of what is now the Kingdom of Jordan. But, of course, that did not satisfy the Arabs. After much bloody fighting over the decades, other efforts were made to create an additional state for the Arabs (who by then called themselves "Palestinians"). There was the Peel Partition Plan of 1937, and, most importantly perhaps, the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947. Under the UN plan, the territory west of the Jordan River was to be split, with the major portion to be allocated to the Arabs and the smaller, disconnected, portion going to the Jews. Jerusalem, a bone of contention, was to be "internationalized" – it would not belong to either. The Jews, anxious to form their state, accepted this plan under which they were granted only a small fraction of the "Palestine" that they had been promised to be their homeland by the Balfour Declaration and by the mandate of the League of Nations. But the Arabs rejected the partition out of hand. Almost the same day that Israel declared its statehood and its independence, six Arab armies invaded Israel from north, east and south. In what could be called a Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might.

Following the Six-Day War of 1967, in which Israeli forces defeated the combined invasion forces of Egypt and Syria, Israel offered generous terms for the formation of a Palestinian state. But it was not accepted. Instead, the Arabs convened in Khartoum (Sudan) and pronounced their famous Three No's: No peace with Israel, No negotiations with Israel, No recognition of Israel. Other offers of statehood were made over the course of the years. Ehud Barak, then prime minister of Israel, and U.S. President Bill Clinton offered the Palestinians almost total withdrawal to the 1967 armistice lines. The Palestinians rejected the offer, presumably because it did not include Israel's willingness to accept hundreds of thousands of Palestinian "refugees," who would with one stroke accomplish what the Arabs had not accomplished in their wars: the destruction of Israel. The creation of a Palestinian state could have been accomplished many times. But it is the unalterable goal of the Palestinians, indeed of most Arabs and most Muslims, to destroy the Jewish state and never to recognize and legitimize Israel in whatever shape and size as a Jewish state.

It is important to understand that the creation of a Palestinian state is not the true ultimate goal of the Arabs. It is, at best, meant to be a stepping stone toward the ultimate goal: the destruction, the disappearance of Israel and of the hated Jews from any portion of what they consider "holy Muslim soil." The Arabs are not interested in putting an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people. That could have been accomplished long ago. On the contrary, to be martyrs is a source of pride and assurance of victory to the Arabs. They compare their willingness to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of their own with the Zionist enemy, who is concerned about combat losses or even the fate of one single abducted soldier.

It is important to understand that the creation of a Palestinian state is not the true ultimate goal of the Arabs. It is, at best, meant to be a stepping stone toward the ultimate goal: the destruction, the disappearance of Israel and of the hated Jews from any portion of what they consider "holy Muslim soil." The Arabs are not interested in putting an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people. That could have been accomplished long ago. On the contrary, to be martyrs is a source of pride and assurance of victory to the Arabs. They compare their willingness to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of their own with the Zionist enemy, who is concerned about combat losses or even the fate of one single abducted soldier.

This message has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

116

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

Tehran, June 20, 2009

SIPA

by the State Department said the department's interpretation of the Accords was inconsistent with those of previous administrations.

In any case, even if the Algiers Accords do somehow prohibit rhetorical assistance to Iranian civil society, Obama need not worry: As a mere executive agreement not ratified by Congress, the Accords do not rise to the level of a treaty. The United States has no legal obligation to accommodate the Islamic Republic's concerns.

Obama's second mistake has been an excessive caution about seeming to incite the protests. On June 15, breaking two days of White House silence after their eruption, Obama declared, "We respect Iranian sovereignty and want to avoid the United States' being the issue inside of Iran." Such concern is misguided. With Iran's economy tanking and a young population disdainful of clerical rule, the Iranian government routinely promulgates wild theories about foreign meddling as a way to shirk responsibility. Iranians are nationalistic, but they are not stupid, so these oft-repeated lies have no credibility. True, U.S. endorsement of a candidate *before* elections would backfire, but no U.S. policymaker has ever suggested such a thing. Speaking for the broader principles of liberty, justice, and free and fair elections does not undercut the protesters.

Part of Obama's reticence may be reflect his advisers' tendency to conflate the Islamic Republic's longstanding and somewhat limited "reform movement" with Iranian civil society as a whole. True, many of the pre-2009 reformists have said that U.S. assistance taints them. On the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, for example, Iranian blogger Hossein Derakhshan blamed Bush's advocacy of democracy for a backlash that culminated in Ahmadinejad's 2005 victory. This theory conflicts with claims from unsuccessful candidates in the 2005 election that Ahmadinejad won that vote through widespread fraud—claims whose credibility the most recent election has heightened. Regardless, Derakhshan showed his and the reform movement's true colors when he endorsed the regime's use of forced confessions from dissidents. As the liberal American journalist Laura Secor wrote in 2005, "Iran's reform movement, for all its courage, was the loyal opposition in a fascist state." It is unwise for Obama to permit this small group, rather than the much larger and more moderate body of Iranians who oppose the theocracy, to guide U.S. policy.

This does not mean that all dissidents want U.S. assistance. Journalist Akbar Ganji voices a common complaint when he says that U.S. assistance provides an excuse for government repression. Yet when Ganji was sent to prison for six years, Bush had not yet taken office. Obama should realize that the Islamic Republic's repression predates any U.S. support for the Iranian people. The 1988 massacre of more than 3,000 imprisoned dissidents—described in Grand Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri's memoirs—had nothing to do with Washington and everything to do with the character of the Iranian regime.

Then there is the Obama administration's misplaced moral concern, which rests on the idea that offering rhetorical support for the Iranians would burden the White House with responsibility for their welfare. The root of this worry is George H. W. Bush's entreaty in 1991 that the Iraqi people rise up against Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi government massacred tens of thousands in putting down the subsequent rebellion while the United States watched. But the supposed parallel with the present Iranian situation is faulty, because the Iranian crackdown began before Obama made any statement and grew in strength while he waffled. And as the case of Solidarity and martial law in Poland demonstrated in 1981, the risk of a crackdown does not necessarily outweigh the benefit of providing moral support to a protest movement: There, what in the short term was a setback eventually proved a watershed and was followed by positive and lasting change.

Obama's initial neutrality neither kept the Iranian government from calling the demonstrators foreign agents nor spared them a harsh crackdown. In a nationally broadcast sermon on June 26, Ayatollah Ahmad Khatami called the protest leaders "worthy of execution" and declared, "Anyone who fights against the Islamic system or the leader of Islamic society, fight him until complete destruction." Security forces continue to arrest students and professors and harass Iranians working at foreign embassies in Tehran. Precedent suggests that Mousavi himself may be destined for exile, a premature death, or both. While U.S.-based Iranian academics praise Obama's hands-off approach, many ordinary Iranians have used Twitter to appeal for the world's moral support.

The protests have shifted the paradigm on Iran, and this should make Obama reconsider his approach. While every president since Carter has reached out to the Iranian people, Obama has made recognizing the legitimacy of Iran's theocracy a cornerstone of his policy. In his March 20 message for the Persian New Year, he declared, "The United States wants the Islamic Republic of Iran [as opposed to simply "Iran"] to take its rightful place in the community of nations."

The street protests may be ending, but the larger battle over the Islamic Republic's legitimacy is just beginning. Certainly, 30 years after the revolution, the failure of the Iranian people to embrace theocracy highlights the regime's vulnerability. It is hard to preach that "our nation is united, and unity in Iran is a role model for the entire world," as Gen. Hassan

Firouzabadi, chief of staff of the Iranian armed forces, did in January, when people chant "Death to the dictator!" in the streets.

As the White House makes policy, it should not give to Tehran what the Iranian people withhold. Obama may face calls to engage the mullahs over Iran's nuclear program, for example, but U.S. interests and moral leadership need not be mutually exclusive. Diplomacy is no panacea, and talk is a tactic, not a strategy. Rushing into negotiations—and bestowing legitimacy on the regime—rewards the Islamic Republic for its nuclear program and thereby encourages its continuance. The irony is that the forces suppressing the Iranian people—the supreme leader and his Revolutionary Guards—are the very forces that command and control the Islamic Republic's nuclear program.

Recognition that the American and Iranian peoples have a common foe should form the basis of a long-term strategy that seeks the triumph of the Iranian people over a destabilizing and unpredictable regime. **NR**

Revolutionary Types

Iran's is a peaceful uprising

BY JOHN O'SULLIVAN

LENIN, Stalin, and Hitler would undoubtedly have regarded the Iranian demonstrations as not really serious. There was no attempt to seize power, neither tanks in the streets nor the storming of a presidential palace. The demonstrators confined themselves to civil disobedience. Only the authorities used violence and only demonstrators were killed. Indeed, the poster girl for the Iranian democratic resisters is a young woman bleeding from a fatal wound inflicted by a government sniper.

Yet a revolution was assuredly being attempted—indeed, a more genuine revolution than would have been, say, the arrest of Iran's "supreme leader," the Ayatollah Khamenei, by Revolutionary Guards acting for President Ahmadinejad. Such a coup would have been little more than a personnel change at the top of the regime. As when one Latin American caudillo replaces another after his tanks shell the radio station, it would have almost amounted to a constitutional process. A revolution is much more than that: It is the replacement of one entire system of government by another—"regime change," you might say. The demonstrators in Tehran were seeking to replace autocratic rule by religious "guardians" with democratic government by elected representatives. Thus, however peacefully they conducted themselves, they were revolutionaries.

Some admirers of revolution cannot see this, since Tehran boasted none of the revolutionary symbols familiar from films and posters: clenched fists, red flags, barricades, arbitrary arrests of the rich, and so on. The aesthetics of

NEW BOOK FROM THE CATO INSTITUTE

"Drawing on his extraordinary interdisciplinary learning, Palmer offers a sociologically, institutionally, and historically informed libertarianism—one that is true to the rich legacy and tradition of classical liberalism."

—JACOB T. LEVY, McGill University

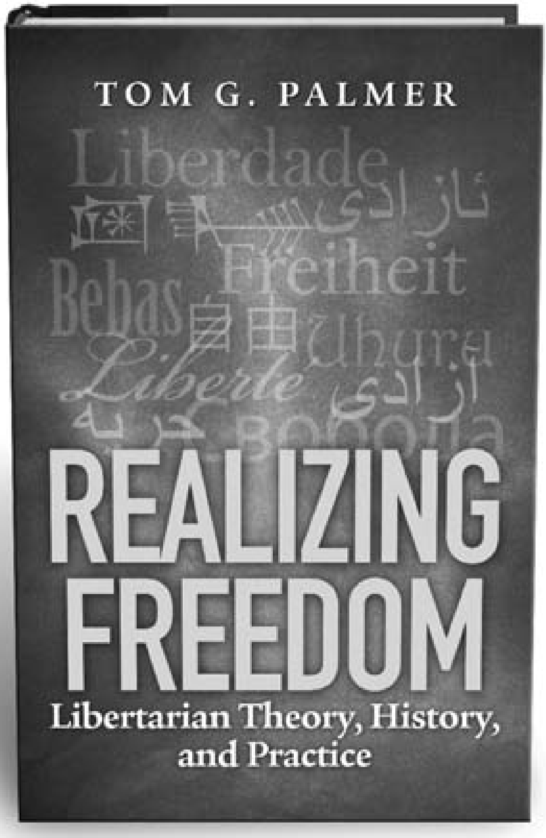
"Tom Palmer has been long involved in fighting the battle of ideas—in confronting collectivism, extensive government intervention, and the suppression of human freedom and economic prosperity. This book should be read by all who care about freedom."

—VACLAV KLAUS, President of the Czech Republic

Written from his perspective as scholar, journalist, and activist, Tom Palmer's incisive articles range in subject from the theory of justice, multiculturalism, and democracy, to limited government, globalization, property rights, censorship, individual liberty, and more.

HARDBACK: $29.95 • E-BOOK: $14.00

Buy your copy at bookstores nationwide, call 800-767-1241, or visit Cato.org.



revolution have been captured by the Left, including the fascist Left, so that we often fail to recognize a revolution carried out on other principles—or we recognize it only in retrospect. But there is more than one type of revolution; indeed, very broadly speaking, there are two.

This was explained, not long after the "velvet revolutions" of 1989 and 1991, by the Italian president (and distinguished classical liberal) Francesco Cossiga, at a New York dinner party given by Henry Kissinger. He astonished the assembled guests, including some Wall Streeters expecting to hear a plea for greater investment in Italy, by presenting a brilliant and passionate analysis of modern history around the theme of five revolutions of world-historical importance.

He divided them into three liberal and two anti-liberal revolutions. The first liberal revolution was England's Glorious Revolution of 1688. This revolution was, in effect, the founding constitution of the modern British state. It defeated Stuart autocracy, established the supremacy of Parliament over the crown, and entrenched a bill of rights, habeas corpus, and the principle of no taxation without the consent of Parliament. It was a liberal rather than a democratic revolution, but it opened the way to the gradual democratic evolution of the British polity. The Glorious Revolution used to be a central episode in British constitutional self-understanding, but it is now so neglected that its tricentenary in 1988 was celebrated by Margaret Thatcher's government as "300 years of Anglo-Dutch friendship."

1688 may be better remembered in America—it is certainly more discussed. In particular, Michael Barone wrote, in 2007, a fresh history of 1688 with the significant title *Our First Revolution*. His book was widely and favorably reviewed. It argued that the American Revolution of 1776 was the continuation of 1688 and thus, as Cossiga also had argued, the second great liberal revolution. The principles and even the words of 1776 are the same liberal ones first heard in 1688—no taxation without representation, freedom from arbitrary arrest, no cruel and unusual punishment—but they are universalized as the birthright of all. To be sure, the 1776 revolution, though compromised by slavery, was more democratic and even more liberal that that of 1688. Its endorsement of religious toleration, for instance, included Catholics—something that would not happen in Britain's case until decades later. The circumstances of America as an open land with more abundant economic opportunities also made it easier to fulfill the material promises of both revolutions. Essentially, however, the two revolutions are the same liberal thing.

That is emphatically not true of either the French Revolution of 1789 or the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. As Cossiga pointed out, these revolutions were anti-liberal revolutions hostile to the liberties, both real and procedural, central to 1776 and 1688. That is less clear in the case of 1789, because the early French revolutionaries thought they were introducing into France the same reforms they had admired in England and America. But as several scholars have observed, most recently Portuguese professor João Espada in his essay "Edmund Burke and the Anglo-American Tradition of Liberty," very different conceptions of liberty underlay their reforms. Whereas the Anglo-Americans saw liberty as a system of government that allowed people to pursue different ways of life, their Continental imitators saw it as a particular way of life that, if necessary, might have to be imposed on those mistakenly enslaved to tradition, religion, inequality, or whatever. Eradicating tradition, religion, inequality, or anything else to which people are strongly attached, however, requires abolishing their freedom, usually bloodily. Hence the revolution of 1789 became more plainly anti-liberal and more violent as it ground relentlessly on.

By 1917, the Bolsheviks had seen the logical necessities that flowed from imposing perfect freedom. They were anti-liberal even before the revolution began and brutally violent once in power. No system of government has ever been given such a free hand to reshape its subjects. Yet, after more than 70 years of such government, their subjects rose up in the velvet revolutions of 1989 and 1991 waving the *Federalist Papers* and quoting the 1688 Declaration of Rights. That was Cossiga's third liberal revolution.

Where does the Iranian Revolution of 2009 fit into this picture? Is it liberal, anti-liberal, or in some third category we cannot now see? Ultimately these are questions that can be answered only in retrospect. But there are certain litmus tests that allow us to make an educated guess. The most important of these are violence and orthodoxy.

Both before and after taking power, anti-liberal revolutions tend to use and even to idealize violence. Robespierre, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Pol Pot, Ho Chi Minh—the list of anti-liberal revolutionaries who gloried in violence, employing it against their comrades as well as against "enemies of society," is all but endless. Anti-liberal writers from Sorel to Fanon justify violence on almost romantic grounds. Their regimes rely on it fundamentally, since it is required to coerce reluctant subjects to embrace their ideas. For that reason, there is no obvious stopping point for it other than the exhaustion of the ruler.

On the other hand, liberal revolutions use violence sparingly, within rules, and only for the duration of the conflict. The Glorious Revolution was not entirely bloodless, but all the factions maneuvered carefully to avoid a civil war. America's revolution involved a hard-fought war, but in the main it was fought honorably (we know all the exceptions), and its result was accepted quickly. And there is a reason the 1989 revolutions are called "velvet."

Orthodoxy is an even surer test. If a revolutionary regime seeks to impose a particular way of life on reluctant subjects, then it is anti-liberal almost by definition. The "Islamic Republic of Iran" declares its orthodoxy in its very name, and it enforces codes of dress and moral behavior by methods up to and including the death penalty. A liberal regime, on the other hand, ultimately rests on the principle of "live and let live." It prefers social peace to political or religious conformity. And it imposes restraints on rebels only on matters of first importance or for reasons of security. Thus the continuing anti-Catholic discrimination in post-1688 Britain is explained largely by the mistaken but reasonable fears of most Protestants that Catholics, like Communists in 1950s America, were a security risk.

If violence is the test in Iran, it points clearly to two conclusions: The 1979 Iranian Revolution was an anti-liberal revolution and the 2009 demonstrations may be at least the start of a liberal one.

The first point scarcely needs arguing—Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution used violence to topple the shah, violence to entrench its rule, violence against original supporters whom it exiled, and violence against the Iranian people at regular intervals. Its current use of violence against people demonstrating peacefully in opposition to the stealing of an election merely underlines its anti-liberal nature.

What is less clear is whether the 2009 revolution is liberal in character. Khomeini's 1979 revolution established what an earlier age would have described as "a mixed regime." It combined a limited democracy with a supervisory system of religious guardians. These ensured that any political debate or reform would take place within the regime's rules of Islamist orthodoxy. Thus, candidates were allowed to compete in this year's presidential election only on condition that they were supporters of the Islamic revolution. If there was a difference between them before the election—and there was—it was over economic topics, on which the main challenger, Mir-Hossein Mousavi, represented a pragmatic approach and Ahmadinejad a more populist one.

That was before the election, however. Since then the street demonstrators have shouted slogans that clearly indicated a rejection of the current Islamist rule in favor of some sort of moderate liberal democracy (probably one with Islamic tinges, on the model of the AKP government in Turkey). The supreme leader's brutal rejection of these complaints has liberalized the crowds still further. It looks as if they now want the end of the anti-liberal Islamist regime. And Mousavi, a moderate revolutionary in the anti-liberal camp, finds himself marching at the head of a liberal revolution.

He has played this difficult hand quite cleverly, claiming to represent the decent revolutionary middle position between a supposedly Western-inspired "velvet revolution" and the corrupted betrayers of Khomeini's 1979 orthodoxy. In other words, he presents himself as the true heir of Ayatollah Khomeini. This is a rhetorical device to get him over a difficulty. It is doubtful that he believes it himself at this point. And it is certain that his followers don't, since, if they did, they would cease following him.

But questions of ideological sincerity are very secondary at present. Mousavi has to keep moving with the crowd if he is to remain their leader, even if it is marching him to the gallows. **NR**

Sanford's Seventies Show

The South Carolina governor's place in the pantheon of political adulterers

BY ROB LONG

THESE days, summer movies come in three basic flavors: the big-budget, special-effects-drenched spectacle (*Transformers: Revenge of the Fallen*, *Star Trek*), the gross-out sex comedy (*The Hangover*), and the sweetly romantic chick-flick date movie (*The Proposal*).

Somehow, the current personal and professional meltdown of South Carolina governor Mark Sanford manages to be all three at once. It's got it all: secret international air travel, romantic e-mails, creepy pet names—everything, frankly, but a happy ending. And that's the problem: You can't have a summer movie without a happy ending. What the governor really

President - Free Market Think Tank

Columbus, Ohio

The Buckeye Institute

Ohio was once a dynamo of the world economy. Today the population is declining, the economy stagnating, and Ohio's best and brightest minds are in flight. For 15 years, a committed group of benefactors, scholars and activists at The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions have stood athwart the course of increased government interference, spending, taxation and regulation to propose workable free market policy alternatives. We've met with success. Our work has shaped policy locally and been recognized nationally as models for school choice, legal and regulatory reform, and tax and spending limitation. We now need a new leader to take us to the next level. The institute is seeking a passionate and articulate advocate for the ideals of freedom, liberty and personal responsibility—someone who can not only lead a growing internal staff and inspire the confidence of a board of trustees, but who can also be a glowing node in the national network of policy advocates and conservative/libertarian political activists. As with all nonprofits, development and financial management savvy are requisite skills for success. Ohio is a battleground in the contest between the new socialism and the cause of freedom. We're looking for a dynamo of our own to not only help stem the tide, but also turn it. Apply with a compelling cover letter and your resume by e-mail only to **cloparo@buckeyeinstitute.org**.

has going on here isn't a summer movie at all, but a complicated romantic drama, the kind of movie they used to make in the 1970s, like *The Way We Were* and *Bobby Deerfield* and *The Raging Moon*. Lots of close-ups and longing gazes, bad lighting, sense of doom—you've seen it on those twee cable channels late at night and, if you're like me, you've wondered to yourself, "Did these movies ever make any money?"

Which is a shame, really, because we're all a little punch-drunk from an astonishing series of downright lurid political sex scandals—from Bill Clinton's appetite for interns all the way down to Florida congressman Mark Foley's tap-tapping IMs to underage boy pages—that we've almost lost the ability to see a grown-up love story when it's right in front of us. Mark Sanford's story is sweetly sad—yes, his wife is heartbroken, furious, wronged; yes, he let down his kids and his friends and his political supporters—but it isn't weird or twisted or dirty. At least when compared with what we've had to endure over the past few years.

Mark Sanford treats his women better than any *Democrat* we've seen in the same spot recently. That should count for something.

Sanford is certainly pitching it that way: "This was a whole lot more than a simple love affair," he told the Associated Press in a foolishly long-winded interview. "This was a love story. A forbidden one, a tragic one, but a love story at the end of the day."

Which is fine if you're pitching a Lifetime TV movie. But these days, something so earnest and, frankly, bland—governor has a wife and four sons, meets a sexy Latina at a seaside resort in Uruguay, falls in love, gets all caught up in it—doesn't have the trashy zing we're used to. It's a typically uptight, repressed, Republican kind of scandal—about love and lust and romantic drama—that's like a Henry James novel set in the Palmetto State, with a crucial dollop of Christian conservatism to give it a little shame and sin.

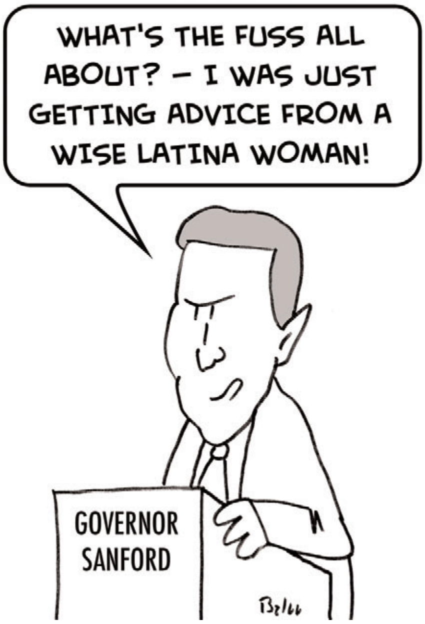
Ultimately, that's what makes Governor Sanford seem like a good guy—a buffoon, maybe; a foolhardy, lovesick puppy, of course; a doomed politician, surely—but basically a good guy. He loves his Argentinian girlfriend. He loves his family. This means trouble.

Say this for the South Carolina governor: When he made his forthright, emotional confession on live television, he didn't drag his wife onto the stage to stand there in zero-eye-contact awkwardness. Unlike, say, former New York governor Eliot Spitzer, whose tautly composed wife, Silda, maintained a ramrod-straight posture, focusing her eyes on the blurry middle distance as her husband described his preference for high-priced hookers.

Or smug, cowardly John Edwards, who cheated on his ill wife, allegedly fathered a child out of wedlock, forced an underling to take the rap, and then simpered and cavilled his way through a bunch of weasel-worded interviews, flipping his hair and grinning like Damien in *Omen II*.

Or, especially, former New Jersey governor James McGreevey, who dragged his poor wife, Dina, onto the stage to bear witness to his confessions of infidelity and homosexuality, and then turned to the sickly pale, astonished woman as if to say, "Um, dear, anything you'd like to add?" He later copped to truck-stop trysts and an ongoing gay affair.

The sheer gentlemanly grace with which Sanford made his declaration—and his refusal to trash his wife, his lady on the side, or anyone else at all—makes him a kind of wonderful political and cultural hero. He treats his women better than any *Democrat* we've seen in the same spot recently. That should count for something.


WHAT'S THE FUSS ALL ABOUT? – I WAS JUST GETTING ADVICE FROM A WISE LATINA WOMAN!
GOVERNOR SANFORD

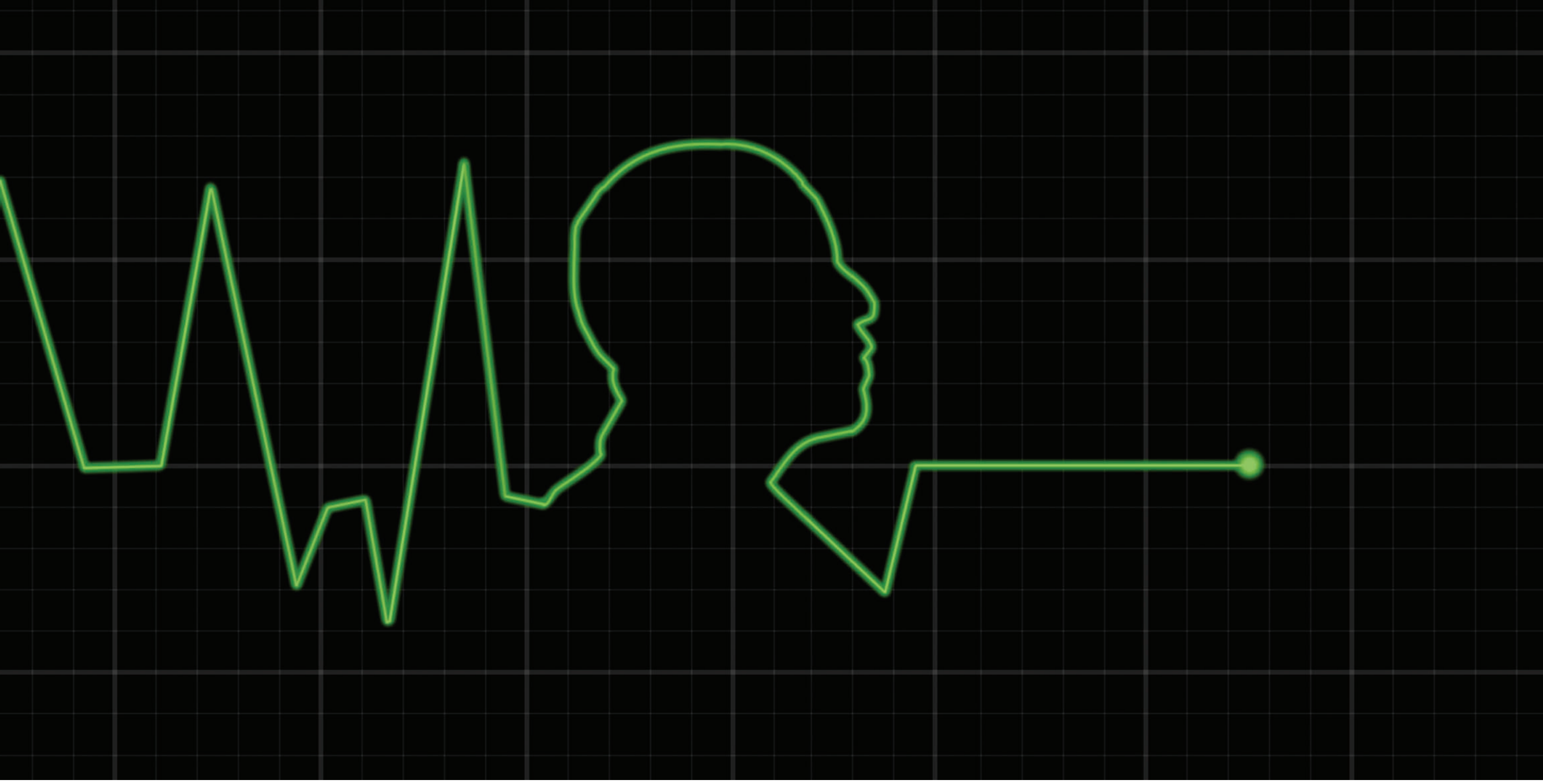
Yes, yes, I know, I know: He was a *governor* of a state. He was AWOL for a week. What if something had happened? What if there had been some kind of Homeland Security emergency? Well, yes, okay. But honestly, I've been to South Carolina. I *love* South Carolina—one of the most beautiful towns in America, Beaufort, sits right there on the coast, all snug and gorgeous and humid. South Carolina is home to America's greatest culinary achievement (and that's saying something), shrimp and grits. But this needs to be said: South Carolina can go without a governor for a few days. Really, honestly: No biggie.

And I wish some of the people who find themselves so outraged and offended by Sanford's love-struck walkabout had had the same lofty image of a governor's indispensability back when, say, they were discussing a certain governor of Alaska. Or Texas. And also: What are they complaining about? In France, this kind of thing happens all the time.

Still, his career is probably over. The people of South Carolina—and the potential voters in the 2012 Republican presidential primaries—may have some concerns about a guy who will toss everything aside for a trip down south, who is so led by his emotions and passions. Right now, we're in the cool phase of American politics—we like our leaders robotically programmed and unflappably empty. But that could change. The moviegoing audience—and the electorate—never want the same thing forever. They could easily develop a renewed taste for complicated, adult, romantic stories. Just like they did in the 1970s.

And with a liberal president in the White House, government spending in the stratosphere, inflation and unemployment heading steadily north, a revolution in Iran, trouble in Central America, a collapsing manufacturing sector, and soaring taxes, aren't we in the 1970s already?

Don't give up too soon, Governor Sanford. **NR**



Dependence Day

State control of health care will change our political culture, for the worse and forever

BY MARK STEYN

HEALTH care is a game-changer. The permanent game-changer. The pendulum will swing, and one day, despite their best efforts, the Republicans will return to power, and, in the right circumstances, the bailouts and cap-and-trade and Government Motors and much of the rest can be reversed. But the government annexation of health care will prove impossible to roll back. It alters the relationship between the citizen and the state and, once that transformation is effected, you can click your ruby slippers all you want but you'll never get back to Kansas.

Why's that? Well, first, the "health care" debate is not primarily about health, which chugs along regardless of how the debate goes: Life expectancy in the European Union, 78.7 years; life expectancy in the United States, 78.06 years; life expectancy in Albania, 77.6 years; life expectancy in Libya, 76.88 years; life expectancy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 78.17 years. Once you get on top of childhood mortality and basic hygiene, everything else is peripheral—margin-of-error territory. Maybe we could get another six months by adopting EU-style socialized health care. Or we could get another six weeks by reducing the Lower 48 to rubble in an orgy of bloodletting, which seems to have done wonders for Bosnian longevity. Or we could lop a year off geriatric institutionalization costs by installing some kook in a pillbox hat as Islamic dictator and surrounding him with a palace guard of Austin Powers fembots. It's as likely to work as anything Congress will pass.

What explains the yawning chasm of these six-month variations? Lack of funding? The United Kingdom spends three times as much money on "health" as Poland and their cancer survival rates are more or less identical. Okay, forget the cash and consider the treatment: Even within the United States, even within the Medicare system, there are regions that offer twice as much "health care" per patient—twice as many check-ups, pills, tests, operations—for no discernible variation in outcome. To one degree or another, any health-care "system" is a giant placebo. Right now, in a fit of mass hypochondria, large numbers of Americans have convinced themselves that they—or, at any rate, their uninsured neighbors—urgently need the magic Euro-cure-all. If they get it, it will improve their health not a whit.

But it will make a lot of other things worse. Government-directed health care is a profound assault on the concept of citizenship. It deforms national politics very quickly, and ensures that henceforth elections will always be fought on the Left's terms. I find it hard to believe President Obama and his chums haven't looked at Canada and Europe and concluded that health care is the fastest way to a permanent left-of-center political culture. He doesn't say that, of course. He says his objective is to "control costs." Which is the one thing that won't happen. Even now, health-care costs rise far faster under Medicare than in the private sector.

By the way, to accept that argument is to concede a lot of the turf: Why is the cost of my health care Barack Obama's business? When he mused recently about whether his dying grandmother had really needed her hip replacement, he gave the game away: Right now, if Gran'ma decides she doesn't need the hip, that's her business. Under a government system, it's the state's business—and they have to "allocate" "resources," and frankly at your age your body's not worth allocating to. Why give you a new hip when you're getting up there and you're gonna be kicking the bucket in a year or two or five or twenty?

There have been two trends in U.S. health care over the last decade. On one hand, a lot of Americans have become, by any rational standard, overinsured: They get tested for things they'll never get. On the other, there has been an abandonment of health insurance by the rich. If you peel the Census Bureau and DHHS figures, of those alleged "45 million uninsured Americans," one-fifth aren't Americans; another fifth aren't uninsured but are covered by Medicare; another two-fifths are the young and mobile (they don't have health insurance, but they don't have life insurance or home insurance, either—they're 22 and immortal and life's a party); and the remaining fifth are wealthier than the insured population. Really. According to a 2006 Census Bureau report, 19 percent of the uninsured have household income of over $75,000. Since the last round of government "reform" in the Nineties, wealthy Americans have been fleeing insurance and opting to bring health care back to being a normal market transaction. And if you look at the "uninsured discount" offered by doctors, one can appreciate that, for everything but chronic disability, it's not an irrational decision to say I'll get a better deal on my broken leg or my colonoscopy or my heavy cold if I just write a check for it.

> You'd be surprised how quickly the 'right' to health care elides into the government's right to tell you how to live in order to access that health care.

AND if you disagree, so what? In a free society, Mr. Smith should be free to be excessively prudent and overpay to be overinsured, and Mr. Jones should be free to conclude that he wants to pay cash down and get the best price for his broken leg. But a government system usurps both Smith's and Jones's right to calculate his own best interests. Whenever I cite some particularly lurid tale from the front lines of Euro-Canadian health care in NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE's "Corner," I get a flurry of e-mails from American readers offering horror stories from U.S. hospitals. And yes, it's true, bad things happen in American hospitals. But the Euro-Canadian stories are not really about the procedure, the operation, the emergency room, the doctor, the nurse. They're about impotence—not in the "Will Obama pay for my Viagra?" sense but in terms of civic dignity and individual liberty. I think of a young man called Gerald Augustin, of Rivière-des-Prairies, Quebec, who went to the St. André medical clinic complaining of stomach pain. He'd forgotten to bring his government medical card, so they turned him away. He was a Quebecker born and bred, and he was in their computer. But no card, no service: That's just the way it is. So he went back home to get it and collapsed of acute appendicitis, and by the time the ambulance arrived he was dead. He was 21 years old, and he didn't make it to 22 because he was forced to accept the right of a government bureaucrat to refuse him medical treatment for which he and his family have been confiscatorily taxed all their lives. "I don't see what we did wrong," said the administrator. "We just followed the rules." No big deal, M. Augustin wasn't anything special; no one in the clinic even remembered giving him the brush.

Roy Romanow, the Canadian politician who headed the most recent of the innumerable inquiries into problems with the system, defends the state's monopoly on the grounds that "Canadians view medicare [as their system is called] as a moral enterprise, not a business venture." If the St. André clinic were a business venture, they'd have greeted M. Augustin with: "You've got stomach pains? Boy, have we hit the jackpot! Let's get you some big-ticket pills and sign you up for surgery!" But because it's a moral enterprise they sent him away with a flea in his ear. If you have a bad experience in a private system, there's always another doctor, another clinic, another hospital five miles up the road. But when the government monopoly denies you health care, that's it: Go home and wait—or, like M. Augustin, die.

"Morality" is always the justification. Inaugurating Britain's National Health Service on July 5, 1948, the health minister, Nye Bevan, crowed: "We now have the moral leadership of the world." That's how Obamacare is being sold: Even the *New York Times* reports (in paragraph 38) that 77 percent of Americans are content with their health care. But they feel bad about all those poor uninsured waifs earning 75 grand a year. So it will make us all feel better if the government "does something." Not literally "feel better": We'll be feeling sicker, longer, in dirtier waiting rooms. But our disease-ridden bodies will be warmed by the glow of knowing we did the right thing.

What's so moral about relieving the citizen of responsibility for his own health care? If free citizens of the wealthiest societies in human history are not prepared to make provision for their own health, what other core responsibilities of functioning adulthood are they likely to forgo? Oh, Smith and Jones can still be entrusted to make their own choices about which movie to rent from Netflix, or which breakfast cereal to eat. For the moment. But you'd be surprised how quickly the "right" to health care elides into the government's right to tell you how to live in order to access that health care. A government-directed medical system can be used to justify almost any restraint on freedom: After all, if the state undertakes to cure you, it surely has an interest in preventing your needing treatment in the first place—or declining to treat you if you persist in your deviancy: Smokers in Manchester, England, have been refused treatment for heart disease, and the obese in Suffolk have been told they're ineligible for hip and knee replacements. With a staff of 1.4 million, England's National Health Service is supposedly the third-biggest employer on the planet, after the Chinese army (2.3 million) and Indian National Railways (1.5 million). And those couple of million Chinese and Indians are mere drops in oceans each over a billion strong, not a significant chunk of the adult population of a tiny strip of land in the North Atlantic. But the NHS still has to ration treatment. Patricia Hewitt, the former health secretary, says there's nothing wrong with the state forbidding treatment on the basis of "lifestyle choices." And apparently the "pro-choice" types who jump up and down in the street demanding that you keep your rosaries off their ovaries are entirely relaxed about the government getting its bureaucratics all over your lymphatics.

Ultimately, it's not the nationalization of health care but the nationalization of your body. Right now, if you want an MRI, it's between you and your doctors. In a government-run system, if you want an MRI and you can't get one, it's the government's fault. And the government should do something about it. Not give you the MRI, of course (that's too obvious, as well as too expensive), but at least introduce a new Patient's Bill of Rights, as Gordon Brown's just done, promising every Briton the "right" to hospital treatment within 18 weeks. Or your (tax) money back? Ah, well, no, but the prime minister's charter will also give you "guaranteed access to cancer treatments," as well as "the right to die at home," which sounds a bit as if Mr. Brown were covering himself. Scotland's cancer survival rate is 40 percent, compared with America's 63 percent. So if the other 60 percent of Scots all exercise their right to die at home, that might free up some "guaranteed access" for the remainder. And if it doesn't, the prime minister will perhaps introduce a new helpline—1-800-PATIENT—in which all you have to do is punch in your postal code and some bureaucrat will come on the line to explain that the new cancer survival targets for your area will be introduced circa 2012 and please call back then if you're not dead.

So elections dwindle down to a sterile argument over how to "improve" the system: The left-of-center party usually pledges to throw money at it. The right-of-center party is less enthusiastic about that, which generally makes it suspect on the issue, so it settles on some formulation to the effect that it can "deliver" better "services" more "efficiently." In other words, the only viable rationale for the Right becomes its claim to be able to run the leftist state more smoothly than the Left. Every footling reform with any whiff of the private sector about it has the ranks of the great and the good lining up on TV to drone the indestructible cliché that "the NHS is the envy of the world." Years ago, in the *Daily Telegraph*, I wrote that I'd seen a fair bit of the world and had never met anybody who envied the NHS, although presumably there must be a Bhutanese yak herdsman up-country somewhere who'd be impressed by it. A couple of days later, Mr. Sonam Chhoki, a Bhutanese gentleman, wrote to the paper to say that, while not a yak herdsman himself, he came from good yak-herding stock and, after a bit of grumbling about my outmoded ethnic stereotyping, declared that he certainly didn't envy the NHS. His British parents-in-law "have had to wait more than two years for operations, after being turned away several times for lack of hospital beds. However basic the Bhutanese health service is, it has not yet come to this sorry state."

Yet Mrs. Thatcher, one of the great fearless conservative figures of the age, could do no more than insist to a skeptical public that "the NHS is safe in our hands." In the 2000 Canadian election, Stockwell Day, leader of the allegedly right-wing Alliance party, found himself forced to make similar prostrations in response to entirely unfounded rumors that the party was thinking of "permitting" private health care back into the country. In a televised debate, he wanted to be certain that, whatever questions he was asked, the public got the message that he had no plans to monkey with the government monopoly. So he brought in a little handmade sign and propped it up in front of the microphone to advertise his fealty: "NO TWO-TIER HEALTH CARE." While he was distracted by a question on some inconsequential topic like foreign policy, Joe Clark, leader of the Progressive Conservative party (think RINO squishes with bells on), swiped the little placard and gleefully scored through the "NO" to let viewers in on Mr. Day's hidden agenda: "TWO-TIER HEALTH CARE." This is what it's come to: the leaders of the two soi-disant right-of-center parties competing to see who can grovel most abjectly before the state monopoly. That's the Republicans' future if they collude in the governmentalization of health care—as Democrats well understand.

When health care is the government's responsibility, it becomes its principal responsibility. Because the minute you make government the provider of health care, you ensure that, come election time, the electorate will identify "health" as its number-one concern. Thus, in a democracy, the very fact of socialized medicine seduces the citizenry away from citizenship. Buying health care is no more onerous than buying a car or buying a house—which, pre–Barney Frank, most Americans seemed able to manage. Indeed, most of the complications are caused by existing government interventions. If you were attempting to devise a "system" from scratch, you might opt for insurance for catastrophic scenarios and, for PAP smears and colonoscopies and whatnot, something similar to the tax breaks for a Simplified Employee Pension: C'mon, how difficult can it be? Back in the day, your grampa managed to go to the doctor without routing the admin through Washington. Matter of fact, the doctor came to your grampa. That's how crazy it was.

But the acceptance of the principle that individual health is so complex its management can only be outsourced to the state is a concession no conservative should make. More than any other factor, it dramatically advances the statist logic for remorseless encroachments on self-determination. It's incompatible with a republic of self-governing citizens. The state cannot guarantee against every adversity and, if it attempts to, it can do so only at an enormous cost to liberty. A society in which you're free to choose your cable package, your iTunes downloads, and who ululates the best on *American Idol* but in which the government takes care of peripheral stuff like your body is a society no longer truly free.

In a nanny state, big government becomes a kind of religion: the church as state. Tommy Douglas, the driving force behind Canadian health care, tops polls of all-time greatest Canadians. In Britain, after the Tube bombings, Gordon Brown began mulling over the creation of what he called a "British equivalent of the U.S. Fourth of July," a new national holiday to bolster British identity. The Labour party think-tank, the Fabian Society, proposed that the new "British Day" be July 5, the day the National Health Service was created. Because the essence of contemporary British identity is waiting two years for a hip operation.

They can call it Dependence Day. **NR**

Going ALAMO

Why jobs and companies are flocking to a big small-government state

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

If you want to know where the future is headed, look where the people are going. And if you want to know where the people are going, check with U-Haul. Here's an interesting indicator, first noted by the legendary economist Arthur Laffer: Renting a 26-foot U-Haul truck to go from Austin to San Francisco this July would cost you about $900. Renting the same truck to go from San Francisco to Austin? About $3,000. In the great balance of supply and demand, California has a large supply of people who are demanding to move to Texas. There's a reason for this.

"Did the greater prosperity in low-tax states happen by chance?" asks Laffer, who studied the issue for a detailed economic report, *Rich States, Poor States*. "What seems obvious to us appears as right-wing science fiction to many California legislators and pundits. They claim that serious reform of the tax code is unrealistic, that a large state has many duties to fulfill, and that it is irresponsible to call for a return to a 19th century view of the role of government. . . . Not only does Texas lack a highly progressive income tax—it doesn't have one at all! We hasten to add that the last time we checked, Texas still had literate kids, navigable roads and functioning hospitals, which one would think impossible given the hysterical rhetoric coming from defenders of California's punitive tax system. In fact, the Texas success story illustrates everything we have been recommending for California all these years. How do they do that?"

How, indeed?

Texas was among the last states to enter the recession. California is expected to be the last state to leave it. Texas has lots of jobs and not much in the way of taxes. California, the other way around. California has Arnold Schwarzenegger, a Hollywood Republican who presided over enormous expansions of spending and debt. Texas has Rick Perry, a classic conservative hard case who just vetoed a pre-kindergarten spending bill, adding to the record number of vetoes he's handed down as governor. And it's not just Perry—the story of Texas politics is full of Democrats who would have been too right-wing to be elected as Republicans in Connecticut or Pennsylvania. Things are a little different down south of the Red River.

Governor Perry sums up the Texas model in five words: "Don't spend all the money." Here's what a good long run of small-government, low-tax conservatism has achieved in Texas: Once a largely agricultural state, Texas today is home to 6 of the 25 largest cities in the country, more than any other state. Texas has a trillion-dollar economy that would make it the 15th-largest national economy in the world if it were, as some of its more spirited partisans sometimes idly suggest it should be, an independent country. By one estimate, 70 percent of the new jobs that were created in the United States in 2008 were created in Texas. Texas is home to America's highest-volume port, the largest medical center in the world, and the headquarters of more *Fortune* 500 companies than any other state, having surpassed New York in 2008. While the Rust Belt mourns the loss of manufacturing jobs, Texans are building Bell helicopters and Lockheed Martin airplanes, Dell computers and TI semiconductors. Always keeping an eye on California, Texans have started bottling wine and making movies. And there's still an automobile industry in America, but it's not headquartered in Detroit: A couple thousand Texans are employed building Toyotas, and none of them is a UAW member.

There are those who would look at this and say, "Not bad for a state with no income tax and a part-time legislature that meets only every two years." And there are those who would say, "You could only accomplish this in a state with no income tax and a part-time legislature that meets only every two years." Texas's formula for success is classical conservatism: Low spending enables low taxes, while a liberal regulatory environment attracts the capital that makes capitalism work. Texas has a state government that is structurally incapable of taking on the grand political ambitions that characterize states such as California and New York, which leaves the private sector with a relatively open theater of operation. With conservatives at the national level looking to the states for models of what works, Texas can provide a blueprint for a prudent and bipartisan conservatism that is neither hostage to ideological excess nor relegated to merely trying to put Leviathan on a leash.

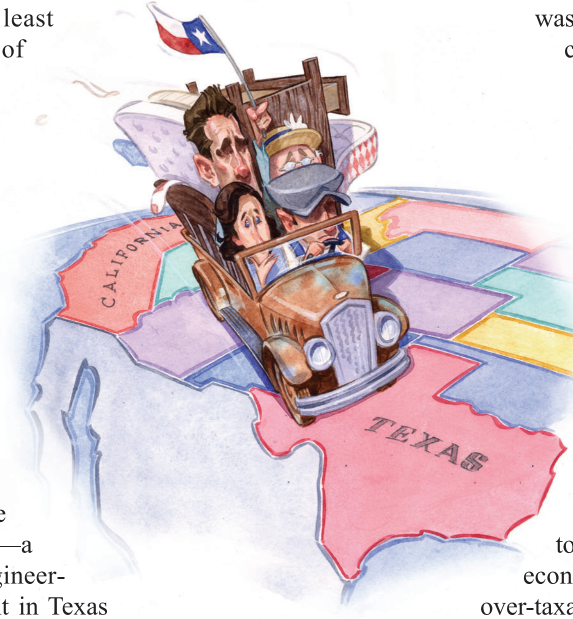
"Sure, there are structural things the rest of the country could do," says Michael Williams, a charismatic conservative who sits on the state's influential oil-and-gas commission and who is conservatives' favorite in the race to replace Kay Bailey Hutchison in the U.S. Senate. "But the bottom line is, we're Texans."

There is much that is inexplicable and quirky about government in Texas—the petroleum regulator that Williams serves on is known as the Railroad Commission, not the Oil Commission—but the fact is that Texas's state government works the way the U.S. federal government is supposed to work: It is a government of enumerated powers, and a government in which the separation of powers hinders the political class's natural tendency toward self-aggrandizement. The powers that be in Austin simply are forbidden to do anything that they are not explicitly authorized to do by the constitution. Any meaningful expansion of Lone Star statism requires a constitutional amendment, which in turn requires the approval of the voters, who are not always eager to give their consent. The Texas constitution has been amended 456 times; about 200 other amendments were proposed by the legislature but rejected by voters.

The Texas legislature itself is something of an anachronism, convening the second Tuesday in January—but only in odd-numbered years. It is constitutionally forbidden to meet for more than 140 days. "There's a lot of us who think it would be better if it met two days every 140 years," says Will Newton, executive director of the Texas chapter of the National Federation of Independent Business. "They still manage to get a lot done in those 140 days. Last session, they introduced something like 7,600 bills." Newton wants the legislature to enact a filing fee for bills—$1,000 from each legislator's operating budget for every bill filed. He suggests this with a chuckle, but he isn't really joking. It's a safe bet that the pols wouldn't pay the fees out of their salaries: Texas legislators are paid only $7,200 a year. The going rate used to be eight bucks a day, and there are some crotchety conservatives who think that's still about right.

Weak as it is, the Texas legislature is the dominant force in state politics. Texas has one of the institutionally weakest governorships in the nation, and Governor Perry has nothing like the lordly powers of his counterparts in Albany or Trenton. The executive is divided: Because the separately elected lieutenant governor presides over the state senate, the man in the No. 2 job sometimes proves as powerful as the governor, and sometimes overshadows him. George W. Bush won much praise for his cordial bipartisan relations with the Democratic lieutenant governor Bob Bullock, but the truth is that he didn't have much choice—Bullock could have strangled Bush's legislative agenda with one hand.

A DIVIDED executive, a relatively weak legislature, severe constitutional limits: not a recipe for over-ambitious government. The result is: low taxes, low spending, light regulation—and a resilient, productive, growing economy. The Texas legislature, like any other, can be a little bit of a freak show from time to time, but it may very well be the nation's least destructive one. Despite decades of giving it their level best, Austin's big-government camarilla hasn't even managed to enact a state income tax. Bullock was the last big-time player in Texas to show much public enthusiasm for taxing income, and that's one of the reasons he never became governor.



ROMAN GENN

Bullock died in 1999, but what might be called Bullockism really lived until 2003. The desire, acute among professional-class Democrats, to transform Texas's government into something more like California's or New Jersey's—a big, blunt instrument for social engineering—has long been an undercurrent in Texas politics. The Democrats insist that Texas underfunds everything from schools to roads, and they have spent years maneuvering to enact a state income tax to give them the revenue they want to work with. But they didn't want their fingerprints on a tax bill. In a perverse way, the 2002 elections, which for the first time found Republicans winning majorities in both houses of the legislature, along with every statewide office, gave the Democrats their chance. Before the new Republican majority was sworn in, Texas Democrats spent down the state's entire cash reserve. And then, through an act of accounting chicanery, they arranged things so that the payments for a number of big-ticket items—millons in education spending, for instance—were scheduled for the next fiscal year. They basically emptied the checking account and left some bills unpaid. That meant that the new Republican majority was sworn into office facing a politically manufactured hole in the budget, a crater $10 billion deep. The obvious solution, Democrats argued, was to raise taxes—for Republicans to raise taxes. Dozens of revenue-raising bills were introduced into the legislature, and there was a resurrection of income-tax talk.

Republicans did not take the bait. Governor Perry told the legislature to not even bother sending him a bill with a tax increase, because he would not sign it. Instead, he submitted a budget in which every spending line was a zero—an act of political theater, to be sure, but an effective one. Republicans ran a classic good-cop/bad-cop routine on the bureaucracy, with Perry taking a hard line against tax increases and Rep. Talmadge Heflin, at that time the new Republican chairman of the Appropriations Committee, meeting with the heads of the state's 35 largest agencies and asking them to start from zero. The agency chiefs were told that they had to keep spending at less than 87.5 percent of the previous year's level, draconian cuts by the standards of most state governments, but they were given maximum flexibility in achieving those goals.

Heflin, a temperate man with a courtly demeanor, says that the agencies had often been treated shabbily by imperious, long-tenured legislators. "They were treated like anything but professionals," he explains, called before various legislative committees for public dressings-down. "But we were able to work with them." The end result was a balanced budget that combined deep cuts in some areas with increased funding for public schools, and did so without general tax increases, much less the enactment of a new state income tax. There were some revenue measures—hunting licenses got more expensive—but it was the sort of resolution that conservatives outside of Texas must regard with a good deal of envy. Texas is facing another tough budgetary year, but this time they'll do so with $9 billion in the kitty to help smooth things over.

"There are certain truths that have to be agreed to," Perry says. "One is that economies grow when they are free from over-taxation, over-regulation, over-litigation, and they have a skilled work force. Government isn't difficult in theory—don't spend all the money, keep taxes low, have a fair and *predictable* regulatory climate, keep frivolous lawsuits to a minimum, and fund an accountable education system so that you have a skilled work force available. Then get the hell out of the way and let the private sector do what the private sector does best. It's simple in theory, but it's difficult to accomplish. In Texas, we've implemented that theory, and it's produced an economy that has no match in America."

The state's last great economic crisis, the simultaneous meltdowns in the oil and real-estate markets in the Eighties, caught Texas with its Levi's down. The state's economy was so dominated by the energy industry that the collapse in oil prices created a whole ravenous Charybdis of economic angst that sucked down commercial real estate and housing with it. State-government revenues cratered at the precise moment that enormous new demands were being put on appropriations. It was a catastrophe, and the only Texan who was making any money in those days was J. R. Ewing.

That's all changed. While Texas is home to a pretty good roster of corporate giants—ExxonMobil, AT&T, Clear Channel, Continental Airlines—much of its growth in the past 20 years has been in small- to medium-sized businesses. (And some of those newer *Fortune* 500 behemoths started off pretty small, too: Dell was launched in a University of Texas dorm room.) "We've really managed to diversify our economy," says Newton, whose organization works for small-business interests. "In the Eighties, with the oil and real-estate busts, revenue shrunk, and we just couldn't recover. It's different now. We're in a recession, and we're feeling it, though not as bad as Michigan or Florida. But we'll come out of it carried on the back of small business."

Republicans are wary of being branded the Party of No, but the Texas experience suggests that the more government you say no to, the more investment you say yes to.

The diversity of business means lots of jobs of different kinds. In a 2008 article for the Manhattan Institute ("Houston, New York Has a Problem"), Prof. Edward L. Glaeser of Harvard compared the polarized economy of New York City with that of the middle-class city of Houston: "Both greater Houston and Manhattan have about 2 million employees. In Manhattan, almost 600,000 of them work in the idea-intensive sectors of finance, insurance, and professional services; only 2 percent are in manufacturing, and fewer than that in construction. Finance increasingly drives New York City's economy as a whole. By contrast, Houston is a manufacturing powerhouse that makes machinery, food products, and electronics, with a retail sector twice the size of Manhattan's and lots of middle-class jobs." Manufacturing bricks and cowboy boots (Fort Worth's Justin Industries does both, oddly enough) may not be as sexy as trading derivatives on Wall Street, but in 2009 some of those non-sexy industrial jobs would be welcome on either coast.

Texas is hardly a citadel of libertarian purism—they love their farm subsidies and wind-power incentives—but there's a deep appreciation for Governor Perry's "get the hell out of the way" conservatism. Republicans are wary of being branded the Party of No, but the Texas experience suggests that the more government you say no to, the more investment you say yes to. "You want to talk about giant sucking sounds? That's the sound of government sucking money out of the economy," Newton says, in a reference to Ross Perot's famous denunciation of free trade. "If you want the capital, you have to get off the backs of business owners, period. We elect candidates who say they want to protect the taxpayer from the government, but then, after they've been in there for a few terms, they start looking to protect the government from the taxpayer."

Saying no at just the right time sometimes means turning down "free" money from Washington. Texas left $556 million on the table when the federal government offered it to help modernize Texas's unemployment trust fund, because the deal would have forced state taxpayers to pour additional revenue into the system after Uncle Sam's bequest was tapped out. "Thanks, but no thanks," Newton says. "We know who is going to have to replenish those funds. That was an attempt to bribe us—to bribe us with our own money."

Under wall-to-wall Republican management, Texas has managed to keep the growth of the state budget to about 1 percent, and some conservatives are pressing for a hard cap on state spending, indexed to population growth and inflation. They'll face reenergized opposition from Texas Democrats, who have grown aggressively liberal during Republican rule. The Democrats' move left is a perverse outcome of the Republican party's growing dominance in Texas, which is not historically a heavily Republican state: As the GOP advanced, it mostly knocked off conservative rural Democrats while the more left-leaning urban and suburban Democrats survived. They are embracing a more conventional big-government agenda and, like Democrats across the country, have found some traction on health care and other issues that speak to middle-class insecurities. There's a lot of churn in a dynamic economy like Texas's, and the state's high levels of legal and illegal immigration impose real social costs, too. Even in the west, it's not always easy selling "get the hell out of the way."

Already on course to be the state's longest-serving governor, Perry's got his eyes on a third four-year term—he'd be the first Texas governor to win one—and, despite a probable primary challenge from Senator Hutchison, he's well positioned to add a terms-won record to his bills-vetoed record. He believes that the Texas model can be replicated in Washington, and thinks that the fiscal incontinence of the Obama administration, coupled with overreach on issues like cap-and-trade, may offer an opportunity.

"This is a popular president, and that's not lost on me. But his policies are scaring Americans to death. You can't spend like this and have a future that is anything other than tenuous in its prosperity. We're about to see hyperinflation, and the cost of doing business and living in this country is going to go through the roof." If that happens, it will be a moment for national conservative reform: We can't all move to Texas. **NR**

AN OCCURRENCE ON Fuyou Street

The Communist myth of Falun Gong's original sin

BY ETHAN GUTMANN

TEN years ago, on April 25, 1999, while attending a Beijing wedding, I heard a rumor that a large crowd of people had gathered at Zhongnanhai, the Chinese government's compound. I phoned an acquaintance at the *South China Morning Post*. "Who are they?" I asked. "We think they are called 'Falun Gong,'" he said. "Apparently it's a huge Chinese religious movement, but we don't really know anything about them." Nobody knew much about them, but the scale of the event was shocking: 10,000 Chinese standing silently in the first mass demonstration since Tiananmen. Equally shocking was the party's ferocious crackdown, which came on July 20.

Falun Gong, at its peak a movement of 70 million people, is mostly invisible to China journalists and little more than a footnote in the West. One reason for this is that, of all the dissident groups, Falun Gong is stylistically the most impenetrable and the most Chinese: the torture displays with their strict Daoist delineations of good and evil, the traditional yellow silk costumes that suggest waving fields in an old five-year-plan newsreel, the banners that read like half-translated Chinese semaphores ("SOS URGENT RESCUE," "Bring to Justice Atrocious Police," "Falundafa open out a new era in mankind!"). Their slogans have a distinctly metallic sound to Western ears—a Communist timbre.

Many in Washington would prefer to exclude Falun Gong from the dissident pantheon. The Tiananmen commemorations of June 4 mobilized official Washington: conferences, hearings, Nancy Pelosi's endless references to her human-rights advocacy in Shanghai, and "Where is the Tank Man?" pieces in the major newspapers. Yet when it came time to rally at the Chinese embassy on Connecticut Avenue, only 300 people showed up. Expect three miles of Falun Gong practitioners on July 20, perhaps as many as 5,000. They will dry-clean their yellow silk, purchase plane tickets, and sleep on floors so that Washingtonians can complain that they are blocking traffic. A few congressmen might briefly speak at the rally, but most will keep a safe distance. And there will be no political price for nonattendance, because there will be little press. Covering a Falun Gong parade is the bake-sale beat.

This is curious, considering Falun Gong's achievements: They are the only dissident group that has broken through the Chinese Internet firewall on a mass scale (Iranian dissenters use Falun Gong–designed systems to communicate and surf the Web freely). Until quite recently, they operated the only independent television station on air in China, broadcast into the country 24 hours daily. They print the only dissident daily newspaper, maintain the only significant shortwave radio presence, and on and on.

Or consider Falun Gong from a bleeds-leads perspective. Each of the 300 who came to the Chinese Embassy on June 4 was metaphorically carrying perhaps three or four victims of Tiananmen Square on his shoulders; on the Falun Gong side, we have only begun to assess the damage. They have suffered more than 3,000 confirmed deaths by state torture, abuse, and neglect. According to my current research, a minimum of 10,000 Falun Gong have been killed for their organs. I suspect the final tally will go far beyond that, because the practice is ongoing. So let's speculate that every one of those 5,000 Falun Gong practitioners is carrying ten, perhaps even twenty, corpses on his back—murdered in labor camps, detention centers, psychiatric hospitals, or on operating tables, usually at the hands of a military surgeon. Quantitative analysis by my colleague Leeshai Lemish demonstrates that American media attention to Falun Gong fell in almost exact proportion to rising fatalities. So as we think about the anniversary of Falun Gong's suppression, we must acknowledge that the Western response has given the Chinese Communists a free hand. And the failure starts with the Western media's acceptance of the party's interpretation of April 25, 1999.

It is hard even to refer to the episode without endorsing Beijing's interpretation of events: Out of the clear blue sky, on April 25, 10,000 majestically disciplined Falun Gong practitioners "surrounded" (that's AP and Reuters) or "besieged" (that's AFP) Zhongnanhai, blindsiding the Chinese leadership. The idea that Falun Gong besieged Zhongnanhai in a threatening way is a direct transmission of the Communist-party line. It is repeated in scholarly works on Falun Gong history, and is regarded almost as the movement's original sin. Even practitioners writing in Falun Gong publications—perhaps feeling the history is too hard to explain—often refer to April 25 as a mass "gathering at Zhongnanhai." They treat the word "demonstration" as if it were dirty, which to the Chinese Communist party it is. Whatever you call the demonstration, it was not specifically targeted at Zhongnanhai, much less was it a siege of the compound. Regardless, for the Chinese audience that Falun Gong is trying to reach, the party still owns the language and the history.

But surely not in the West? Recall that Henry Kissinger's statement on Tiananmen—"No government in the world would have tolerated having the main square of its capital occupied for eight weeks by tens of thousands of demonstrators"—was echoed by Charles Freeman, the Obama administration's recent nominee to chair the U.S. intelligence council. If the foreign-policy elite talk this way about the students of Tiananmen Square, imagine how they view an obscure Eastern revival movement: *Well, that's China, and those Falun Gong were asking for it.* Scholars might phrase it a little differently. In their telling, the suppression of Falun Gong began as an action-reaction phenomenon and ended as a tragedy: *Falun Gong are very good at making mistakes, aren't they?*

But it is difficult to believe that they asked to be martyred or

Mr. Gutmann, an adjunct fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, is the author of Losing the New China: A Story of American Commerce, Desire, and Betrayal. *He wishes to thank the Earhart Foundation and the Peder Wallenberg family for research support.*

that they were given a signal from their spiritual leader to run like lemmings into the labor camps and operating rooms of China. If you do believe that, you should review the history and interview the people who participated on April 25 and the events leading up to it.

CHINESE society is often compared to a pyramid, an image that suggests permanence and imperial grandeur. But under Communism it has been more like a rocket in the early days of space exploration: ambitious, jerry-rigged, and potentially explosive. At the bottom is a vast booster filled with masses of peasants and impoverished workers. Moving upward through the second and third stages, one finds the intellectuals, the military, the entrepreneurs and nouveaux riches, and, at the top, a tiny capsule containing the party. From the party's perspective, Falun Gong, with its emphasis on traditional Chinese morality, seemed to spread through the rocket like an electrical fire. By 1996, only four years after the movement began, it had made it to the capsule, and the smoke was attracting serious attention. The response: Founder Li Hongzhi's book, *Zhuan Falun*, was banned, and Li left for America.

Falun Gong takes refuting lies to be a central part of its morality. And it had a method for doing this: show up en masse, stay silent, and simply stand around until someone talks to you.

The party continued to watch Falun Gong, but no immediate repression followed. In early 1998 Amy Lee, a well-connected practitioner from boomtown Guangzhou, returned to her parents' home in Shandong for a visit. Opening the door, she saw something that spooked her: Her parents, both active practitioners, had removed every Falun Gong poster and portrait of Li Hongzhi from their walls. All the books were gone. Employing a sixth sense developed over decades of Communist rule, her parents, like animals before a storm, had gone underground.

In 1999, the Public Security Bureau estimated that Falun Gong had attracted 70 million practitioners, 5 million more people than belonged to the Communist party itself. It was at that point that a physicist published an article in a Tianjin Normal University journal portraying Falun Gong as a dangerous cult. China isn't the West, and these things aren't random: The physicist, He Zuoxiu, is the brother-in-law of Luo Gan, at that time the head of public security, and the Tianjin Normal University journal answers to the state. The article was a flare in the night sky, a signal and trial of the party's designs.

In China, when you see such a signal and know you are targeted, there are two options. You can keep quiet—and probably get crushed. Or you can stand up—and still probably get crushed. But Falun Gong takes refuting lies to be a central part of its morality. And it had a method for doing this: show up en masse (it's easy to chop the head of a single religious leader, harder with thousands of believers), stay silent, and simply stand around until someone talks to you. It had employed this method already against earlier negative reports—newspaper articles in 1997, a Beijing television segment in 1998.

Prefiguring the events of April 25, about 5,000 practitioners staged a silent demonstration on April 22 at Tianjin Normal University, asking for a dialogue or a retraction of the physicist's article. The police were called in, and Officer Hao Fengjun was one of them. He says his "entire police force was suddenly maneuvered to the college, told to enforce martial law and close off the area." When he arrived at the scene, he says, "we all realized that it was nothing like what had been described to us—Falun Gong looking for a fight, disturbing public order, and so on. But we had no choice." Indeed, the video surveillance shows nothing more than people sitting around, but the police nonetheless beat and arrested 45 practitioners. Those who tried to reason with the officials and the police were told that the matter had been taken up by the Public Security Ministry, under the central government, and were instructed that they should go Beijing to appeal.

In the two days following the Tianjin arrests, the term "appeal" spread widely among Falun Gong practitioners—not by central command, but simply by word of mouth. It had an explicit meaning: the National Appeals Office, a safety valve against corruption, the only location in China where a citizen can legally complain about the government. Everyone knew that the arrests in Tianjin had set a frightening precedent, and some believed it was better to stay home—Master Li had said more than once that practitioners should avoid politics. Others argued that truth had to be defended, and that what they were considering wasn't a demonstration but a legal protocol. On April 24, thousands of practitioners set off for Beijing. Some made out their wills the night before.

They were followed. A group from Jilin Province was intercepted at a bus station by a special police division and told: Go home, the Tianjin problem is resolved. Others were intercepted in Shenyang by a policeman who had carefully memorized phrases from *Zhuan Falun*, the better to facilitate communication. One group of 20 took an overnight train from the northeastern city of Harbin. As they stepped onto a Beijing platform that swarmed with practitioners, a phalanx of policemen firmly directed them back on the train.

Not surprisingly, the location of the National Appeals Office wasn't well publicized. Not a single practitioner that I have interviewed could place it precisely on a map. The mysteriousness of its location, near the bull's-eye in the sensitive political center of Beijing, is central to the story. The western border of Zhongnanhai, which lies adjacent to the Forbidden City, is defined by a long, tree-lined avenue, Fuyou Street, which bulges slightly, as if accommodating the power of the walled leadership compound. To the north, Fuyou ends at Wenjin Street, the northern border of Zhongnanhai. To the south, Fuyou intersects Chang'an Avenue, Beijing's central east–west thoroughfare. Some practitioners thought the National Appeals Office office was near the Wenjin Street intersection. Others thought it was closer to Chang'an. But most believed that it was in the *hutongs*, the labyrinth of narrow alleys right off of Fuyou Street to the west. The entrance to those *hutongs* is located across from the guarded western entrance to Zhongnanhai.

As April 25 dawned, Zeng Zheng, a young consultant and Falun Gong practitioner, pulled her bike into Fuyou Street and noticed that something was a little off. Zeng had worked at Zhongnanhai briefly and knew the security intimately. Normally there were so many guards that it was difficult to enter the street without being questioned. Now, just before 7 A.M., practitioners were strolling down Fuyou Street, chatting and looking around for the appeals office as if they were in a shopping mall. But a line of police stood on the southern end. The police ordered the Falun Gong to go back up the block and stand at the entrance to the *hutong*, across from Zhongnanhai's western gate. The Appeals Office would open at 8, Zeng understood. "They were very well prepared," she says. "They were expecting us."

At 7:30, a young couple on their way to the Appeals Office passed by the moat on the eastern side of the Forbidden City. They saw a large detachment of Red Army soldiers sitting in jeeps, bayonets fixed, facing towards Fuyou. By 8, Luo Hongwei, a young newlywed, had just taken her place close to Zhongnanhai's western gate. Perhaps everything would be okay, she thought, exulting in the practitioner's discipline. "There were a lot of people, a lot of people," she says. "It's hard to avoid things' becoming chaotic. But the cars driving past were going *swish-swish*." By 8:30, an elderly practitioner who asked that I not use her name—let's call her Auntie Dee—made her way into the intersection of Chang'an and Fuyou. The street was now packed with practitioners, mainly country folk, plainly dressed and wearing cheap cloth shoes. As she watched them mill about, carrying their rations of dried food or crouching and eating, the anxiety she had been controlling suddenly swelled in a vivid moment of déjà vu. Ten years ago, she had felt the tanks thunder toward students as they squatted and ate and protested—peacefully, but they were shot anyway.

People were still pressed together in front of the western gate of Zhongnanhai. Yet it was becoming obvious from the enormous police presence moving in from the *hutongs* that the Appeals Office, wherever it was, wouldn't be opening—not today. Auntie Dee pushed through the crowd as quickly as she could, not daring to stand in front of Zhongnanhai, straining to keep her eyes from even glancing at it. Eventually she reached Fuyou's northern intersection with Wenjin Street. People were

O JAY, CAN YOU SEE?

And does he ever see in his acclaimed collection — you will, too!

***Here, There & Everywhere* is a must for your library. The acclaimed collection of the best writings of *National Review* senior editor Jay Nordlinger, this big, handsome 528-page hardcover contains a wonderful array of the popular writer's most profound essays, reports, speeches, and ruminations, covering everything from politics and foreign affairs to music and golf. Here's what some leading lights have to say about Jay, his remarkable talents, and this remarkable book:**

MARK STEYN: Unlike most of us political pundits, Jay Nordlinger has many other strings to his bow. In fact, most of us don't even have a bow, but Jay does: You're as likely to find him at Bayreuth or Salzburg as at a political convention. Or at Augusta National. He has what British politicians term a "hinterland"—a vast array of interests beyond politics that most normal people call "life." He writes brilliantly about music, and profoundly about golf, and very perceptively about those strange little linguistic tics that seem to pop up out of nowhere and catch the spirit of the age. For his fans, this long overdue Nordlinger reader is a virtuoso display of his rare versatility, on subjects from Rummy to Rosie, Cuba to comedy, ethnic cleansing in Iraq to "erotic vagrancy" in Hollywood. He is a Jay of all trades and a master of . . . well, almost all (we have a few musical differences).

RUSH LIMBAUGH: Jay Nordlinger is a Renaissance man, and this book proves it. It's witty, grabbing, and fun. Nordlinger tackles an array of issues, big and small, with rare humor and insight. He also says nice things about me—which counts for a lot. I couldn't put it down.

***Here, There & Everywhere* costs only $24.95, and save big when you get additional copies (it makes a great gift!)—they're just $19.95 each. We'll pick up the shipping and handling charges. And if you'd like the book personally autographed and inscribed by Jay, just say so (send along a note with your order). It's free!**

National Review ◆ 215 Lexington Avenue ◆ New York, NY ◆ 10016

YES! Send me ______ copies of *Here, There & Everywhere: Collected Writings of Jay Nordlinger*. My cost is $24.95, plus only $19.95 for each additional copy (includes FREE s/h). I enclose total payment of $__________. Send to:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)
☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No.
Expir. Date
Signature

Name
Address
City State ZIP

NY State residents must add sales tax. Foreign orders add $10.00 US per order.

flooding in from the northeast now, and she could see policemen carefully herding practitioners along Wenjin directly opposite the northern exposure of Zhongnanhai. A friend of Auntie Dee's—let's call her Aunt Sha—remembers it well: "They just told us, go this way, go this way, and we followed."

While buses and police cars cruised around the intersection, Auntie Dee suddenly realized that video cameras had been set up at regular intervals and were filming them. Sick with fear now, she tried to move back from the front row: "I thought if they caught me on film, they would come for me later." (She was right: Auntie Dee and Aunt Sha would ultimately be sentenced to labor camp for three years. Zeng Zheng would get two, and Luo Hongwei's husband was released from prison last year.)

It was now nearly 9 A.M. The stage was set for the kabuki performance that followed: Premier Zhu Rongji's conciliatory public appearance and Jiang Zemin's smoldering circle around Zhongnanhai in his smoked-glass limousine. No record, film, or plausible account suggests that the Falun Gong practitioners did anything even faintly provocative during the entire episode, which continued for 16 hours. No littering, smoking, chanting, or speaking to reporters. When one practitioner suggested that they take turns to go eat or drink, others said no, definitely not—if we drink, we'll have to go to the bathroom, and that could disturb those living or working in the area. Even by the Communist party's hair-trigger standards, there was no pretext to the use of the troops waiting by the Forbidden City. The evening announcement that the Tianjin practitioners would be released was greeted with quiet relief. The demonstrators left feeling optimistic. The next day Aunt Sha read the official media reports. "They said: 'Falun Gong gathered at Zhongnanhai.' They didn't say we *surrounded* Zhongnanhai. They also said that there is freedom to practice or not practice as one wishes," she says. The myth of a disorderly demonstration or riot would not be manufactured until later, in official media reports and in an hour-long film portraying the demonstration as a terrorist act. Because the Western media know so little of Falun Gong, this fiction survives in accounts of April 25.

A peaceful start at Zhongnanhai, April 25, 1999

The rest, I think you know, or can guess: constant reassurances from the party that everything was normal, that the existing policy toward Falun Gong—essentially, don't ask, don't tell—was still operational. Meanwhile, practitioners' phones were tapped, spies appeared at practice sites, warnings were selectively issued at workplaces, and the party created the 6-10 Office (named for its formation on June 10), one of the most terrifying secret police agencies ever created. The machine of the crackdown was ready to be switched on, and the "ringleaders" of April 25 were arrested on July 20.

In response to the July 20 crackdown, practitioners came back to Fuyou Street on July 21. Luo Hongwei was among them: "July 21 was like April 25. We lined up on the street waiting for an official to come so we could talk to them. But no officials came. Instead these huge trucks, one after another, came with police officers and took us away." The crackdown was justified with the myth of a day of infamy—April 25—a fiction concocted as a pretext to stage an unprecedented persecution, one that continues to this day.

One final point. Officer Hao Fengjun went to work at the 6-10 Office in 2000. "Our monitor room already had a comprehensive record and data on the Falun Gong practitioners," he says. "These things are not something that can be done and collected in just one or two years." According to a former district-level official—call him Minister X—the party's decision to eliminate Falun Gong, and its preparation for that task, happened long before any ban was made public. It was discussed explicitly in party meetings. Jiang Zemin could not resolve the tension that followed the Tiananmen slaughter except by creating a new target, and Falun Gong was it. At least one source claims a communiqué to this effect was being circulated in Qinghua University as early as 1998. No real evidence has emerged that Zhu Rongji, or any other party leader, put up any serious opposition to that decision then, or indeed at any other time. Minister X, for his part, was told to stop granting business licenses to practitioners. April 25, then, was simply the unfolding of an elaborate bait-and-switch, with Falun Gong as the patsy.

Perhaps that term could just as well be applied to the West. It's been ten years. Did the party really mean to kill so many? Perhaps not. It is prone to believing its rhetoric.

So are Western reporters. The party will not fire itself, and it is time for the West to engage the reality of China. A post-Communist civil society in China will include a role for Falun Gong, and we should better understand the real history of the movement. For today, it's enough to dispel at least one myth that feeds the misplaced idea that the West has no business commenting on an obscure family quarrel. Falun Gong did not start this war. The Chinese Communist party did. And the party should be held fully accountable for the results. **NR**

AFP

The Long View

BY ROB LONG

From the Desk of Bernard Madoff

Dear Friends:

I know you're all reading this and thinking, "Whoa! *This* guy?? This guy is writing to me??" And yes, I have to admit—I am *that* Bernie Madoff, and I am writing to *you*.

And trust me: I'm more surprised about all of this than you are. LOL!

By now most of you have read the news that I've been sentenced to 150 years in prison for various things that, frankly, are way too complicated for this kind of simple letter. Suffice it to say there were a lot of i's and t's that went undotted and uncrossed during my years as chief investment strategist for Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities LLC, and no one regrets that more than me.

(Seriously! I'm writing this from my prison cell! LOL!)

Do I have regrets? You bet.

Do I wish I had handled things better? Absolutely.

Have I learned a lot? Believe me when I tell you that I have learned *tons*.

And I have to be honest with you (☺)—I am not writing this letter to everyone. Not all of the past clients of Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities LLC are getting this exciting offer.

I've combed through my past client lists, thought about each and every one of my valued and important clients, and from that list have chosen a select few to receive this special, one-time opportunity.

So, congratulations! You've made it. You're in the "in crowd"!

Welcome!

So, by now you're thinking, "Okay, Bernie. You got my attention. What's up?"

I'll tell you what's up.

I'm writing to you because of your past history with Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities LLC, because you once entrusted me with all or a portion of your life savings, and because I'm one of those people who think that the past needs to stay in the past. It's the future I care about. It's the future that's so important.

Your future.

Your *financial* future.

I am writing to you to tell you about an extraordinary opportunity for financial growth and security. It's unprecedented. It's foolproof.

It will deliver to you and your family and your loved ones the kind of wealth and financial security you've dreamed of—the kind some of you thought you had last autumn, before all of the craziness with Bernard L. Madoff Investment Securities LLC began.

How much is that kind of financial security and personal wealth worth to you?

When you hug your kids or grandkids, do you feel like you've provided for them?

Have you provided for *yourself*?

No?

Then keep reading.

As many of you know, I have recently received a prison sentence of 150 years.

That's a lot of time.

But right now, for the small number of lucky recipients of this letter, I am willing to do something unprecedented.

I am willing to share my amazing 150-year prison sentence with 150 lucky individuals.

Here's how it works:

Each "investor" takes "ownership" of one of my 150 years, and agrees with federal and state courts (approval pending) to serve one year in my place. These years can be served consecutively or cumulatively, as is convenient for the investor and as state and federal regulations allow.

Each investor is allowed to collect other investors to serve the year in smaller increments—so, for example, an investor may "sell" his year in month, week, even day increments.

And here's where it gets interesting:

You get to *keep* your profits!

You don't owe me *anything*!

Which means, at the end of the 150 years, we're *all* going to make money!

How is that possible, you ask?

Simple.

I have a unique and proprietary system of investing in time and time-related components. It's too complicated to go into now. I've applied for patent protection on a number of my innovations. But the bottom line is this:

You're finally going to have the financial security you've always dreamed of, and which was cruelly taken away from you by recent events.

You're going to be *rich*.

How rich?

That's really up to you.

"Hey, Bernie, what's in it for you?" I can hear you asking.

Well, okay, I'll be honest (☺)—a big part of this is just me giving back, just me doing the right thing for people I care about. But, really and truly, I'll also benefit in a small way by not having to actually serve the actual years I was actually sentenced to, freeing me up to think up even more new ways for all of us to increase our personal wealth and achieve our dreams of financial freedom and independence.

It's *win-win*.

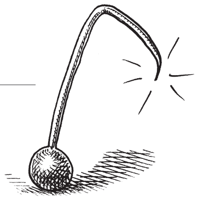
So, join me, won't you?

Just send a SASE and $11,000 handling fee to:

Banc Madoff et Fils
Block 8H-C11F
Dept. of Corrections
Ossining, NY

And go ahead! Dream a little! Everything's going to be just fine!

All my very best,
Bernie



The Bent Pin

BY FLORENCE KING

Flowering Industry

WARNING: The economic crisis has changed my very personality. The bitter pessimist you know and love, who always topped off her half-full whiskey glasses because they were obviously half-empty, is no more. In her place stands a perpetually smiling optimist, perky enough for morning TV, ready to celebrate the future of American education that is just now peeking over the horizon: Our college-besotted faux middle class is due to get kicked in the slats.

Once a symbol of embarrassed defeat, community colleges are suddenly doing a land-office business. Enrollment is soaring, reports the AP, not only because of lower tuition, but because "they offer training at a time when the economy is pushing people into new industries." That phraseology says it all: "training" instead of "education"; getting pushed instead of lured by college reps plugging their groves of academe on Career Day; and, most significantly, those "new industries." The AP is really saying that trade schools and business schools are making a comeback because increasing numbers of Americans know what happens to people who major in sociology or fine arts and want to learn something useful.

Community-college catalogues pulsate with usefulness. Among their offerings are accounting, office skills, drafting, mechanical engineering, marketing and distribution, electrical technology, machine technology, computer applications, legal administration, and nursing. Reading this list makes me remember, more with fear and trembling than with nostalgia, the courses I took in college. Typical was "The Flowering of 17th-Century French Neo-Classicism." I was a sucker for any lit course described as "the flowering of," or any history course about the era in which epaulets protected the shoulders from saber cuts. You could end up on welfare with an education like mine, but I blithely took all that stuff and nobody ever tried to talk sense to me. I was "in college," a blessed state in the 1950s, and I was free to pursue the kind of intellectual polish once limited to 19th-century milords who made the Grand Tour.

If I had known enough about real life to complain, someone would have said, "You might not make a living out of it, but it will make life worth living." This is what people say to poets. There's some truth in it, but not enough to make up for the misery I knew before I hit the writing jackpot, when I worked at Manpower office jobs. There is nothing worse than being surrounded by machines when you can define deus ex machina ("The Flowering of Greek Classical Drama").

I finally made a stab at common sense when I took a course in Stenotype with a view toward becoming a court reporter—the person who takes down verbatim testimony on that little machine. I think I would have enjoyed it, at least dramatic criminal cases, though probably not boundary disputes and the rest of the droning detritus that makes up the legal workday. But I never got to find out. I made my first big sale (*Harper's*), which inspired me to drop the course and concentrate solely on writing.

The only other useful course I ever took was in junior high school. Called "Commercial Arithmetic," it was taught by Miss Weber, whom I think of every time I see Suze Orman. There was no textbook; Miss Weber invented her own lessons and ran them off on the school's mimeograph machine. There was a simulated checking-account statement that we had to reconcile; utility bills containing errors that we had to find; bills of lading that we, pretending to be businessmen, had to check against our orders; and a Form 1040 full of deductions that we had to decipher and compute while pretending to be CPAs.

Miss Weber also invented a comedy of errors involving several people and a Sears catalogue order gone terribly wrong, and made us write a complaint letter describing what had happened without going off on tangents, and without using more than one sheet of paper. I did well enough on her arithmetic exercises, but I got an A+ on my complaint letter. No editor has ever had to write "Boil it down!" in the margin of my manuscript because she got to me first. I started watching Suze Orman because she reminded me of her, but I kept on watching, and now, once again, I find myself learning something useful.

The greatest service community colleges can render is the elimination of liberal-arts majors, who, once merely useless, are now hopelessly ignorant thanks to the relentless dumbing-down of politically correct, democratized education. Math and science majors are still well educated, but they work on the other side of the company complex and the twain never meet. The B.A.'s in sociology and fine arts—and now, women's studies and "communications"—are found working at personnel, PR, advertising, and customer service. They also write the directions and instructions that come with the product, winning themselves a place in the Owner's Manual Hall of Fame for such efforts as: "Will not operate until it has already been after once." Frustrated Americans desperate to talk to "a real, live person" should consider who might pick up the phone.

The community-college trend probably finds favor with Chris Matthews, who regularly frets, "Americans don't *make* things anymore." Watching a master craftsman at work is chastening, but what really gets to me is the person with an immense store of practical knowledge. Such people make me feel safe. It doubtless goes back to Miss Weber, but I derive the same feeling from the speech by insurance man Edward G. Robinson in *Double Indemnity*, when he rattles off the actuarial tables on suicide without a single hesitation.

Watch it and see if you agree that he's the real, live person we all long to talk to. **NR**

Florence King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, VA 22404.

Books, Arts & Manners

Story Morals

CHERYL MILLER

On January 20, 2002, Leon Kass, chairman of the newly appointed President's Council on Bioethics, opened the Council's first session with a discussion of Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1843 short story "The Birth-Mark," the tale of a scientist who kills his beautiful wife while removing a birthmark from her face. It would have been an unusual start for any government panel, but for one dedicated to scientific issues, it was especially surprising.

Yet strange as it might seem, lawmakers and scientists would benefit from a greater engagement with literature. A richer public bioethics—one that combines the insights of science with those of philosophy and of the humanities more generally—is very much in need. As Kass explained in *Being Human: Readings from the President's Council on Bioethics* (2003)—an anthology of poetry, essays, and fiction—literature "can contribute to a richer understanding and deeper appreciation of our humanity, necessary for facing the challenges confronting us in a biotechnical age."

Few authors have faced those challenges more squarely than Jodi Picoult. The author of 16 books and counting, Picoult (pronounced *PEA-koe*), 42, is a literary phenomenon; over 15 million copies of her books have been sold worldwide. Her last three books shot straight to No. 1 on the *New York Times* bestseller list, and her breakthrough novel, *My Sister's Keeper* (2004), is getting the major-motion-picture treatment this summer with a film starring Cameron Diaz. Picoult has legions of devoted fans (her official newsletter is titled *The Pi-Cult*), and a knack for turning out page-turners that tap deep into contemporary anxieties, longings, and fears.

For a queen of commercial fiction, Picoult's home life is decidedly unglamorous. She lives on an eleven-acre farm in rural New Hampshire with her husband of 19 years—an antiques dealer—and their three children. But while Picoult might seem like any other middle-aged mom, she has a demon work ethic. An early overachiever, she's racked up two Ivy League degrees (a B.A. from Princeton and a master's in education from Harvard). She cranks out another novel every nine months, waking up at 5:30 each morning to write. All her books are heavily researched: She observed cardiac surgery for *Harvesting the Heart* (1993), studied bone-marrow transplants for *Perfect Match* (2002), and even spent a day in jail for *The Pact* (1998).

When it comes to the actual writing, Picoult's formula is simple: Take a hot-button issue and tell the story through a rotating cast of characters—typically small-town New Englanders—on both sides of the question. Picoult describes her work as "fiction of morality and ethics," and she is particularly drawn to the moral, legal, and ethical dilemmas raised by modern medicine. Her novels have dealt with such thorny issues as organ donation (*Change of Heart*), savior siblings (*My Sister's Keeper*), eugenics (*Second Glance*), and euthanasia (*Mercy*). Her latest, *Handle with Care* (Atria, 496 pp., $27.95), follows a wrongful-birth suit. (She's currently at work on a novel slated for 2011 that will focus on embryo donation.)

Picoult's fiction raises fundamental questions about human dignity: What constitutes a valuable life, and who gets to decide? She's a favorite on the book-club circuit and in bioethics courses, in part because of her open-ended approach. She gives each character the chance to make his or her case to the reader, provoking debate and discussion among readers. Although she can be overly didactic at times, Picoult avoids sensationalism and treats her subjects with sensitivity and seriousness. But most of all, her portraits of families in crisis help us to explore the human implications of medical breakthroughs—a corrective to what are too often abstract, technical debates. As Picoult explained in an interview, "You've got science that is only as ethical as the people who are researching and implementing it, and once again, in the wake of such intense scientific advancement, what's falling by the wayside are the emotions involved in the case-by-case scenarios."

‘Who has the right to decide what kind of life is too limited to be worth living?" That's the question at the heart of this year's *Handle with Care*. Willow, the much-longed-for daughter of Charlotte and Sean O'Keefe, is a precocious five-year-old with a love of bizarre trivia. ("The average woman consumes six pounds of lipstick in her lifetime.") She is also sick—her bones don't form properly due to a rare genetic illness, osteogenesis imperfecta or brittle-bone syndrome. By the time she is born, she has broken seven bones, and four more break during the delivery.

The stress—both financial and emotional—of caring for Willow leads Charlotte to file a "wrongful birth" suit against her best friend, the obstetrician who handled her pregnancy. Had Charlotte's doctor not missed certain signs at her first

Jodi Picoult

Cheryl Miller is the editor of Doublethink *magazine.*

prenatal ultrasound, the suit claims, Charlotte would have chosen to terminate the pregnancy rather than bring a severely disabled child into the world.

What Charlotte does is monstrous—both her husband and her older daughter, Amelia, beg her not to go forward with the suit—but Picoult does not allow her to be wholly unsympathetic. Charlotte loves her daughter so much she'll do anything to secure a better life for her. The lawsuit means financial security: money to buy a new wheelchair, summer camp, a car specially outfitted to meet Willow's needs. "What kind of mother would face a judge and jury, and announce that she wished her child had never existed?" Charlotte wonders. "Either the kind of mother who didn't love her daughter very much at all. Or the kind of mother who . . . would say anything and everything if it meant [her daughter] would have a better life."

But Charlotte is also angry at the hand she has been dealt, and the lawsuit is as much about finding someone to blame for the damage Willow's illness has wreaked on her family as it is about winning a better life for Willow. Picoult captures well the toll that caring for a disabled child takes on a family; her own son, Jake, had to undergo eleven operations after he was diagnosed at age six with cholesteatoma, benign tumors that grow in the inner ear. Charlotte has to give up her career as a pastry chef—work she loves—to become Willow's full-time caretaker. The family struggles to get by on Sean's lone income. Both parents are overburdened, always rushing from one emergency to the next, aware they're not fully meeting either daughter's needs. "What if it was someone's fault?" Charlotte thinks. "How could I admit to anyone—much less myself—that you were not only the most wonderful thing that had ever happened to me . . . but also the most exhausting, the most overwhelming?"

If we're tempted to judge Charlotte harshly, Picoult suggests we look in the mirror. Charlotte is *us*, and *Handle with Care* sheds uncomfortable light on our modern expectations about parenthood: specifically, our belief that we have the right to choose which babies will be born. As Sean ruefully remarks, "People were always saying they'd love any baby that came along, but that wasn't necessarily true. Sometimes, it really did come down to the child in question." Indeed, Picoult notes that some 80 percent of prenatal Down syndrome diagnoses end in abortion. We might say, as one Picoult character does, that "love's not a because, it's a no matter what," but our actions suggest the contrary. Charlotte personifies this confusion perfectly. "I would never have wished for an able-bodied child," she declares, "because that child would have been someone who wasn't you." But moments later, she is wondering if you can "miss someone you never knew."

How far will we go in our quest for the perfect child? Sean worries about the logic of Charlotte's suit, what he calls its "greased slope." "If an OB decides a kid with brittle bones shouldn't be born, what's next?" asks a disability-rights activist at the trial. "A prenatal test for low IQ, so you can scrap the fetus that won't grow up and get up into Harvard?" Such a fear is not merely speculative. Amelia, Charlotte's preteen daughter, is troubled by the way the lawsuit reduces Willow to a single trait: her impairment. Does her mother look at her and only see her flaws as well? "Was it any wonder that I found myself staring in the mirror at my disgusting face and even more disgusting body?" Amelia thinks. "My mother was going to sue a lawyer over a kid who turned out less than perfect."

My Sister's Keeper also focuses on a family disrupted by disease. Brian and Sara Fitzgerald are the parents of Jesse, four, and Kate, two, when Kate is diagnosed with acute promyelocytic leukemia—a rare form of cancer that resists chemotherapy and requires constantly changing treatment regimens. Without a genetically matched donor, Kate will soon die. So the Fitzgeralds—with the help of modern reproductive technology—conceive a "savior sibling" for Kate: their daughter Anna.

From the moment of her birth, Anna's life is inextricably linked to Kate and her illness. "I'm not sick, but I might as well be," Anna thinks. Every time Kate is admitted to the hospital, Anna ends up there as well, and she grows up thinking of herself as a mere source of spare parts for her sister: cord blood, stem cells, and bone marrow. When Kate's kidneys fail, Anna, now 13, is drafted once more as Kate's donor. But this time, Anna hires an attorney and sues her parents for the right to make her own medical decisions.

(*Warning*: There are spoilers galore in the rest of this section.) Picoult expertly untangles the various conflicts of interest—ethical, legal, and medical—involved in Anna's case. Brian, a firefighter, knows that "the safety of the rescuer is of a higher priority than the safety of the victim," but Anna's well-being is never considered—not by her parents, not by the doctors who treat her, not even by the hospital bioethics committee that considers her sister's case. Kate's doctors are divided on whether to go ahead with the donation—Kate is so weakened by the cancer that the operation may only prolong her suffering—but no one discusses the impact it would have on the donor, Anna. She is not "the patient," as Kate's doctor explains at the trial. If the doctors have forgotten Anna, her parents are no better. As Julia, Anna's court-appointed guardian ad litem and the novel's moral center, thinks: "Traditionally, parents make decisions for a child, because presumably they are looking out for his or her best interests. But if they are blinded, instead, by the best interests of another one of their children, the system breaks down. And somewhere, underneath all the rubble, are casualties like Anna."

Thus, for a procedure unlikely to save Kate's life, Anna is put at risk. Her health will be compromised; the doctors tell her she'll likely have to give up ice hockey, a sport she loves and for which she has natural talent. More worrisome to Julia is the emotional impact the surgery may have on Anna: If her kidney fails to save Kate, Anna may face a lifetime of guilt.

More broadly, Julia wonders what it is like to be a means to an end, to be conceived with a particular purpose in mind. Like *Handle with Care*, *My Sister's Keeper* is ultimately about the quest for parental control: In the words of Anna's lawyer, "We are all, I suppose, beholden to our parents—the question is, how much?" Sara and Brian bridle at the thought that Anna is a "designer baby"—that their love is contingent on certain traits—yet Sara herself tells Anna that "we loved you more because we knew exactly what we were getting." The words are meant to reassure, but Anna can't help but wonder if her mother would love her if she had turned out differently than planned. "Unlike the rest of the free world," she thinks, "I didn't get here by accident. And if your parents have you for a reason, then that reason better exist. Because once it's gone, so are you."

My Sister's Keeper closes with one of Picoult's signature shocker endings: Anna

How Does This 69-Year-Old Doctor Have The Body Of A 30-Year-Old?

Jeffry Life, MD, pictured at age 67, after Cenegenics as featured in ***GQ*** magazine.
This photo is not enhanced in any way.

Dr. Life, pictured at age 57, before Cenegenics.

CENEGENICS®
medical institute

GQ suggests it's the path to ***reversing the signs and symptoms of aging.*** It's also gotten the attention of *Today, 60 Minutes, Nightline* and *The Associated Press.*

Find out more about the Cenegenics® program, a unique and balanced combination of nutrition, exercise and hormone optimization, when clinically indicated.

BENEFITS MAY INCLUDE:

Decreased Risk of Age-Related Disease

Improved Muscle Tone

Decreased Body Fat

Increased Energy

Increased Sex Drive

Sharper Thinking

At Cenegenics, patients are successful business people and professionals. In fact, more than 1,500 of their 15,000 patients worldwide are physicians and their families. **Call today to speak one-on-one with a Cenegenics medical doctor. Strictly confidential, no obligation. Register online to receive the** *GQ* **article and** ***The Complete Guide to Healthy Aging.***

Call 866.350.8799

Register www.cenegenics-nr.com

No Insurance and No Medicare Accepted

wins the trial only to die in a car accident. Kate, in turn, receives her kidney and is saved. Many reviewers have seen the ending as a cop-out, a way—as the *Chronicle of Higher Education* put it—to "circumvent[] the parents' need to make a difficult moral choice." But the ending (which is very similar to the twist in *Handle with Care*) reinforces the theme of control, our desire to master nature or fate through science. Sara's natural desire to protect her children convinces her she can bend circumstances to her will. She can create one child to save the other with no negative consequences. Anna's death helps her to understand that there are some things we can't and shouldn't control. Children are a gift, as Sara comes to realize: "We never have children, we receive them."

Or, as a character in *Second Glance* (2003) puts it, just because an embryo is protected from contracting cystic fibrosis, "that didn't mean it might not contract meningitis. You never knew what you were going to get. Close a door, and you'd still feel a breeze through the window." The character speaking those lines is Meredith Oliver, a genetic diagnostician. Meredith, like Charlotte and Sara, is a mother attempting to assert control over unhappy circumstances, and she too will find that she is only creating a new and different tragedy.

Second Glance is something of a departure for Picoult—it's a ghost story as well as a family drama. The town of Comtosook, Vt., is literally haunted by the past. Lia Beaumont, a woman murdered in the 1930s, stalks the grounds of an old, burnt-out house where a real-estate developer hopes to build a shopping center. The ghost is responsible for all kinds of strange happenings in the town, including terrifying visions experienced by Meredith's sensitive daughter, Lucy. Unnerved, the developer hires Ross Wakeman, a paranormal investigator, whose sister is the town's librarian.

With the help of his sister and his nephew, Ross uncovers the mystery of Lia Beaumont's life, and with it, a dark chapter in American history. Lia was the daughter of Henry Perkins and the wife of Spencer Pike; Perkins and Pike were the scientists behind the 1930s Vermont Eugenics Project, which sought to protect Vermont's genetic stock by ridding the state of its undesirable citizens. In 1931, Vermont became one of 33 states to enact a sterilization law, and social workers were sent out to identify candidates for sterilization: the mentally ill, the handicapped, and racial and ethnic minorities. The majority of those sterilized were members of the so-called gypsy family or of the Abenaki Indian tribe. Sterilizations were said to be "voluntary," but often only the consent of two doctors was required: The patient, as one character explains, "didn't always know what was best for himself."

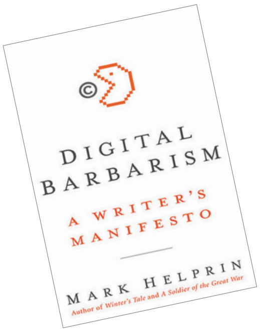
Although Spencer and Lia are fictional, Henry Perkins and the Vermont Eugenics Project are not. *Second Glance* is an attempt to understand how a supposedly civilized society can do such terrible things. What Ross and the others learn is that the eugenicists of the 1930s were not monsters, but normal people who wanted only to reduce human suffering. They were the elite, "progressive" thinkers: "doctors, lawyers, teachers, judges . . . people who truly felt that what they were doing, in the long run, was best for everyone." One 1930s social worker is initially repulsed by the treatment of her patients, and attempts to resign. "I didn't have the heart for a career in public welfare," she explains. But *that*, the director claims, is exactly why she should stay: "So one day there would be fewer and fewer people who had to suffer."

Like the other books, *Second Glance* is a warning. In an author's note, Picoult points out that the Human Genome Project is located on the same site in Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y., as the American Eugenics Society was. Perhaps today's genetic research is not so different from the eugenics of the 1930s. "Science was at the mercy of the people who created it," Meredith thinks, and she begins to fear she has more in common with Henry Perkins than she thought. "No parent should have to suffer through a sick child," she tells Ross. Like Sara, Meredith believes parents will love their children more if they know what they're getting. But she will learn—just as Charlotte and Sara do—that love is not contingent, that children are not simply projects of our will.

If recent history is any guide, it's a lesson we have to relearn again and again. As Ross tells Meredith, "the truth was, history repeated itself on a daily basis; mistakes were made over and over." Fortunately, we have Jodi Picoult's books to warn us against those mistakes and show us the human costs of our biotechnical age. **NR**

Man, Machine, and Copyright

ADAM THIERER



Digital Barbarism: A Writer's Manifesto, by Mark Helprin (HarperCollins, 256 pp., $24.99)

It would be difficult to think of anyone more ideally suited to pen a passionate defense of copyright law than novelist Mark Helprin. Helprin has written several of the finest works of modern literature, including his masterpiece, *A Soldier of the Great War*, a narrative of transcendent beauty. In *Digital Barbarism*, Helprin sets out to use his formidable gift for the written word to repel the "cyber mob" that has attacked copyright law and called for its curtailment, or even abolition.

Unfortunately, while Helprin occasionally rises to great heights in his defense of copyright, he too often sinks to lamentable lows—by resorting to the same unbecoming rhetorical tactics used by the mob he seeks to condemn. Indeed, his book is filled with gratuitous vitriol and neo-Luddite ramblings about the Internet and Information Age that severely detract from his defense of copyright. This is a shame, because, in places, *Digital Barbarism* makes a fine case against those critics who wrongly view copyright as an impediment to the creation and diffusion of content. "The availability of information is not

Mr. Thierer is a senior fellow with the Progress & Freedom Foundation in Washington, D.C.

and will not be restrained by the copyright system any more than it is or will be restrained by the delivery systems that make it possible," Helprin argues. Why, he asks, "must 'content' be free" when everything else—access to the Internet, digital devices, etc.—costs good money? He notes that the movement that advocates "free," universal access to all copyrighted material in the name of "openness" and "the public good" would, ironically, "destroy the dream it advocates":

> By insistence upon unhindered access without regard for rights and incentives that have been carefully balanced over centuries, the hurried new order will diminish the substance over which it demands sovereignty. It will have its access, but, as time passes, to less and less, and eventually perhaps to almost nothing, the means having grossly overpowered the ends. The past may be brilliantly cataloged and made accessible as never before, but at the cost of making the culture of the present relatively barren. Though it may never be entirely extinguished, it can be made as eerily quiet as if without the beat of a single heart.

The power of Helprin's defense of copyright is that it is grounded in both this sort of utilitarian rationale and a Lockean, natural-rights-based conception of man's moral right to the fruit of his mental labor. But there are many thorny issues Helprin fails to address in setting forth his dual defense of copyright.

To begin with, things just aren't as black-and-white as he makes them out to be. There's a certain inherent messiness to "intellectual property," at least when compared with tangible property. As an abstract concept, it's easy enough to defend. In practice, however, it often proves exceedingly challenging to delimit and enforce, since intangible creations cannot be enclosed the same way our back yards can.

This does not mean, however, that the opposite approach—a collectivized "commons" for intellectual creations—is more sensible. That intangible property is harder to enclose and protect doesn't mean the law shouldn't seek to do so. "Copyright is important because it is one of the guarantors of the rights of authorship," Helprin argues, "and the rights of authorship are important because without them the individual voice would be subsumed in an indistinguishable and instantly malleable mass."

American copyright law has generally cast this right in utilitarian terms, ever since the Founders gave Congress the power under Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution "to promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries." But how much "limited time" is enough time to incentivize creativity and invention? Under the first Copyright Act, enacted by Congress in 1790, the term of protection was just 14 years plus a right to renew for an additional 14 if the author was still alive.

There are many legitimately difficult questions about the enforceability of copyright in an age of ubiquitous digital connectivity and instantaneous information flows. I came to appreciate these challenges several years ago after transferring my entire 30-year CD collection to a portable music player that was smaller than a box of cards. How can copyright coexist with the giant copying machine represented by the combination of personal computers, digital devices, and the Internet? What sorts of restrictions on devices and networks are required to ensure that we continue to reward intellectual creativity without destroying the forms of technological innovation? How should copyright law define "fair use" in a culture that increasingly enables collaboration and encourages "remixing"? Will we need to create new "compulsory licensing" schemes—already in place for radio and television—to ensure that creators are compensated through mandatory fees embedded in digital devices or our monthly broadband bills?

These are challenging questions that deserve a fair hearing. But Helprin rarely bothers with these details because he's too busy trading jabs with "the mob." Unfortunately, his manifesto goes off the rails as his defense of copyright quickly morphs into an indictment of the Internet and all things digital.

At times, Helprin seems to be channeling the ghost of the late social critic Neil Postman, who, in his 1992 anti-technology screed, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, heaped contempt upon the unfolding Information Age. Recently, Internet critics such as Lee Siegel (*Against the Machine: Being Human in the Age of the Electronic Mob*) and Andrew Keen (*The Cult of the Amateur: How Today's Internet Is Killing Our Culture*) have continued this tradition of deep techno-skepticism. With *Digital Barbarism*, Helprin joins this cause, arguing that we are witnessing "the decline of culture," the "mechanization of the soul," our "intellectual and spiritual destruction," and the rise of a movement of "wacked-out muppets led by little professors in glasses" that "threatens in a decade or two to dissolve the accomplishments of millennia, reordering the ways in which we think, write, and communicate." And Helprin is just getting started. While he claims that he is "not decrying the digital revolution per se," it often sounds that way. He speaks repeatedly about the "surrender" of human nature to "the machine revolution" and the corresponding need to "control the machine."

Much of Helprin's Internet ire seems to originate with the anonymous "blogging-ants" who have attacked his earlier essays in defense of copyright-term extension. *Digital Barbarism* becomes his chance for payback. "It would be one thing if [the digital] revolution produced Mozarts, Einsteins, or Raphaels," Helprin says, "but it

BOCAGE
1789

When you deserted your military post,
you fled from India as a refugee,
then sailed—where else?—to Macao off the coast
of China, at the edge of the South China Sea.
At twenty-three, you'd made a perfect mess
of your life, reinventing ways to fail,
but the future would be much worse (did you guess?):
illness, enemies, poverty, even jail.
But, now, there is this momentary peace
four thousand miles from Lisbon and home,
where Camões once came to write his masterpiece,
some sonnets, but, most important, the epic poem,
and maybe on this beach, calm and serene,
he wrote, "Love is a fire that burns unseen."

—WILLIAM BAER

doesn't. . . . It produces mouth-breathing morons in backward baseball caps and pants that fall down; Slurpee-sucking geeks who seldom seek daylight; pretentious and earnest hipsters who want you to wear bamboo socks so the world won't end . . . beer-drinking dufuses who pay to watch noisy cars driving around in a circle for eight hours at a stretch," and so on.

Unfortunately for Helprin, would-be rappers, basement-dwelling geeks, enviro-hippies, and NASCAR fans all predate the rise of the Internet, so one wonders if he has fingered the right culprit for civilization's supposed decline. The fundamental problem with *Digital Barbarism* is that the cultural decay Helprin laments cannot be so easily tied to the battle over copyright. Indeed, most of what Helprin condemns in modern culture has come about during a time when copyright's protections—at least as defined by law—have been expanded considerably in both length of term and breadth of coverage.

Moreover, he is simply too quick to proclaim the decline of modern civilization by looking only to the baser elements of the blogosphere. The Internet is a cultural and intellectual bazaar where one can find both the best and the worst of humanity on display at any given moment. True, "brutishness and barbarism" can be found on many cyber-corners, but not all of its corners. And, contrary to Helprin's assertion that blogging "begins the mad race to the bottom," one could just as easily cite countless instances of the healthy, unprecedented conversations that blogs have enabled about a diverse array of topics. Finally, even if one concedes, for the sake of argument, that blogging produces more cultural trash than treasure, would greatly enhanced copyright protection really turn things around?

There are strong moral and utilitarian arguments for protecting copyright and, during his calmer moments, Helprin articulates some of them quite effectively. He is surely right that "theft is ugly," and that far too many people (especially in academia) are turning a blind eye to the injustices of the widespread copyright infringement taking place online today. There's a lot of good sense buried underneath the angry rhetoric of this book; it's regrettable—and surprising—that someone of Mark Helprin's literary prowess didn't make a better effort to persuade his readers. **NR**

Music

Podium Prodigy

JAY NORDLINGER

LORIN MAAZEL is in his office, wearing blue jeans, surrounded by musical scores—some of them written by himself. The conductor, born in 1930, is wrapping up his tenure as music director of the New York Philharmonic. He began in 2002—60 years after his debut with the Philharmonic. Yes, he was twelve, and he was a rare thing: a child prodigy who conducted. Almost all are instrumentalists; the Maazel case is nearly unique. His bio says, "Between ages 9 and 15 Lorin Maazel conducted most of the major American orchestras." What does your bio say?

Some musicians are not especially articulate, which is no shame: Their profession or art does not require speech. But Lorin Maazel is fabulously articulate, and we settle into a wide-ranging conversation. His speech is curious, interesting: somewhat rarefied, not from anywhere, really. His hometown is Pittsburgh, but his English, no.

I ask whether he likes music as much as ever, after these eight decades. He says yes: "Your appreciation grows. It deepens as one's life experience widens. One's perception of music deepens." And does he still enjoy even very familiar music—say, Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony? Is that still glorious and thrilling to him? Oh, "it's as glorious and thrilling as the day it was written. If you become jaded because of overexposure, the problem is yours, not the composer's."

Most people think that age is an advantage on the podium. Does Maazel think so? Surely he does. But he says, "Well, it depends on who's growing older. I've always tried to learn as I've moved forward in life, and I consider each performance to be a learning experience." That is not true of all conductors or other musicians, Maazel notes. Some of them "age complacently, and those folks don't improve, I'm afraid. It's a question of mindset."

Later on, we return to this question, and Maazel avers, "Youth is a mindset, not a physiological state. I know so many young people who were born old. If you have an enthusiasm and an inquisitive mind, are quick-witted and have good reflexes, it doesn't matter whether you're 10 or 100, you're going to function very well" as a conductor. "The music that you touch will have the impetus, drive, and vitality it needs." Incidentally, Maazel's father is 106.

Lorin was not just a conducting prodigy, but a violin prodigy. Might he have made an entire career of the violin? "I was thinking of it. I love the violin, and there was something called the Glazunov Contest, right here in New York, right after the Second World War. I decided I was going to win that contest, and fortunately for me I got double pneumonia two days before I was supposed to come to New York, and ended up in bed for weeks." Maazel figures he would have won—"I was playing amazingly well"—and then "I would have missed my whole career as a conductor, because I would have marched around the world" playing violin concertos. "I would have grown bored, I would have stopped practicing, and I would have ended up in some orchestra, probably."

We talk about two of the great violinists of mid-century: Heifetz and Milstein. Maazel played for Heifetz, who was "very critical of my playing, as he should have been." (Heifetz was critical—caustically critical—of everything.) Amazingly, Heifetz got hold of a cadenza that young Maazel had fashioned for a Mozart concerto, and taught it to his students. As for Milstein, "he was not the greatest fan of yours truly." Once, Maazel collaborated with him on the Beethoven Concerto, and Milstein got his nose all out of joint. He walked out of rehearsals. "I'm not quite sure why I rubbed him the wrong way, because he was a god to me, and I was not only deferential, I would have shined his shoes. But he was just in that mood." Eventually, Milstein came back, played the performances, "and actually talked to me at the end of the fourth concert, almost civilly."

We turn to the subject of composition, and Maazel's career, or sideline, as a composer. Has he achieved all he wanted? "I never set out to achieve anything." Rather, "I write because somebody asks me to write, and Rostropovich started me off on this." Rostropovich is the late, great cellist. And he heard "some stupid piece of mine"—a waltz, a *pièce d'occasion*—and said he had to have a concerto. Maazel agreed, but "with many misgivings. I had never written a major piece like this before, and all the music I had written up to that time, I had found uninteresting. I figured there was so much bad music being written every day, why add to it?" But Rostropovich's "conviction moved me to write a rather good piece, actually." And others (e.g., the flutist James Galway) asked him for more.

So, who are the composers of today worth listening to? Maazel has an immediate answer: "Penderecki." Then he says, "Um . . . well . . ." Long, long pause. "Mention some American composers I've conducted here," he says. I say, "I hesitate." He says, "Kernis? I think he's a very, very talented composer, a master of what he does." That is Aaron Jay Kernis. He also praises Rodion Shchedrin, the Russian, and "an important composer."

He says that the taboo on melody, harmony, and the like no longer exists—"That was 30 years ago," and it was always "for the birds." Maazel goes on to observe, "If you have something to say, the idiom in which you choose to say it is irrelevant." He mentions the great Alban Berg, who chose to write "tonal-sounding twelve-tone music," which "I find quite remarkable." We speak of his violin concerto, and also his two operas: *Wozzeck* and *Lulu*.

I say that I find *Wozzeck* "one of the great unwatchable operas," so horrible is the subject matter, so keen is the injustice, so devastating is the work the composer has produced. I say that I feel similarly about *Madama Butterfly* (Puccini). Whereupon Maazel comments, "When I conduct that opera, I can't look at the stage for the last five minutes—when she gets ready to disembowel herself. I can't bear it." And "the music is so powerful."

"Why do people sneer at Puccini and Tchaikovsky?" I ask. Maazel answers, dismissively, "Envy."

On to other composers, including Bruckner. A conductor once told me that he had a hard time conducting Bruckner, probably because he, the conductor, lacked religious belief. I say to Maazel, "Do you have to be a believer to conduct Bruckner?" He answers, "No, not at all. I'm certainly not, but I have a streak of spirituality. I think that every musician worth his salt simply must, and Bruckner's music has a breadth and depth and an innocent genius which I find absolutely unbelievable."

CHRIS LEE

Lorin Maazel

A discussion of conductors brings up Carlos Kleiber, of whom Maazel says, "I think he was the finest conductor of his generation." (Kleiber was born the same year as Maazel, 1930, and died in 2004.) Not that the two saw eye to eye. They were good friends, and had a revealing lunch once. Maazel said, "Carlos, I have never heard a note from you that I could possibly agree with." Kleiber said, "Lorin, I feel the same way about you." Maazel said, "How do you explain that I am one of your biggest fans, and think that you're in a class by yourself?" Kleiber said, "I feel the same way about you, Lorin!"

Many of us have observed, over the years, that Maazel is tinged with jazz—which comes out in remarkable ways, as he traverses the classical repertoire. The maestro says, "I used to play jazz piano," and, "like every American, I have rhythm." Technically, that should be "I got rhythm." Speaking of Gershwin, I say, "He is unquestionably great, right?" Maazel answers, "No doubt about it." With André Previn, Maazel is probably our foremost interpreter of Gershwin. He once recorded the complete *Porgy and Bess* with the Cleveland Orchestra (and associated forces).

Speaking of operas, we get on the subject of opera productions, and specifically "Euro-trash," to use an impolite term—Maazel's is "Euro-dreck." He thinks that this phenomenon "will gradually peter out, because audiences will have had enough." Let us hope—it's been a long time already. "The faddists are clever," says Maazel, "because they paint you into a corner." Their trick is to say, "If you object to us, you're a conservative, you're a fuddy-duddy, you're a living anachronism! What we do is *new*!" Maazel says, "It's not new. It's boring. It's not even vulgar. It's just . . . dull." The way Maazel says "dull" would wither any of these Euro-dreck directors.

And where does Maazel stand on the future of classical music, about which so many fret? He says, "Thank God for China." They are ravenous for music there. He also cites South America, in particular Venezuela, where a storied man named Abreu set up a system of youth orchestras. Maazel went down to conduct the main such orchestra, and found the experience "mind-blowing." All those kids, full of enthusiasm, "making the most fantastic sound I've ever heard." These were "youngsters who were pushing drugs the year before, or mugging people in the streets." And now they were "sitting there like angels and playing their hearts out."

Before we part, I ask a left-field question: Lorin Maazel is a real dancer on the podium, or can be. Does he dance off the stage, socially? He laughs: "I did go to dancing school, but I was the world's worst student." And he recalls a time in Spain, during "my wild youth, when I was sowing my oats." In a club, he asked a girl to dance. After a few minutes, she "stopped cold" and said, "I don't want to dance with you anymore." "What's the problem?" asked Maazel. "You have no rhythm," she said. Offering catnip, I say, "That woman probably went on to be a music critic." Maazel throws back his head and laughs again, hard. **NR**

Film

Enemies of The State

ROSS DOUTHAT

The only thing truly surprising about Michael Mann's *Public Enemies* is that it took him so long to make it. From his debut film, *Thief*, down through *Heat*, *Collateral*, and *Miami Vice* (the DayGlo TV show and the blue-black movie alike), Mann has made a career out of cops-and-robbers mythologizing. But why invent legends when the truth is even more remarkable? Why fabricate modern-day John Dillingers when you can tell the story of the man himself?

Christian Bale as G-Man Melvin Purvis

UNIVERSAL

Not that the tale *Public Enemies* tells agrees exactly with the historical record. Mann's portrait of Depression-era America's most prolific bank robber, embodied by Johnny Depp, includes plenty of dramatically convenient compressions and inventions. But the lineaments of the story are true enough: Dillinger's moll and his pals; the dozens of banks he knocked over; the two prison breaks he orchestrated; the way his depredations helped summon modern crimefighting into being; and of course his made-for-Hollywood final hours. And Mann, the bard of lawbreakers and the lawmen who chase them, is the obvious director to tell it.

The movie's structure, inevitably, is similar to that of *Heat*, which featured Robert De Niro planning heists in contemporary Los Angeles and Al Pacino trying to stop him. In *Public Enemies*, too, there's the gang of bank robbers, headed up by Depp's Dillinger; the gaggle of lawmen, led by Christian Bale as G-Man Melvin Purvis; and the extended cat-and-mouse games punctuated by machine-gun exchanges. And of course there's the love interest—Marion Cotillard as Billie Frechette—who wants our gangster hero to escape the grisly fate that his career has prepared for him.

But *Public Enemies* has more recessive stars than *Heat*—there's no Pacino-style scenery-chewing here—and a larger canvas to work with. The narrative pulls back frequently, framing the cops and robbers in the broader New Deal era. This macro-story is all about centralization and its consequences: the power of the mass media to make Dillinger a national celebrity, the power of a young J. Edgar Hoover (Billy Crudup, prissy and brutal in equal measure) to nationalize crimefighting, and even the power of the Chicago Syndicate to nationalize crime.

Both Dillinger and Purvis, in different ways, are ground down by the gears of centralized power. When the story starts, for instance, the Syndicate has an easygoing relationship with the roving bank robbers—laundering their money, welcoming them to safe houses, and so forth. But eventually the mob turns on Dillinger, flushing him into the open for the Feds to run down. As a mid-level mobster explains, it's too risky for a modern criminal operation to tolerate outlaws and freelancers: Even gangland has gotten a dose of that rationalized New Deal spirit.

For Purvis, what's ground away is moral principle. When he first starts hunting the Dillinger gang, he is the one lecturing the technocratic Hoover—who's enamored of a civilized, scientific FBI—on the need to have hard men and heavy weaponry involved. But the demands of power soon reverse that dynamic: Hoover decides that the end of catching Dillinger justifies almost any means—up to and including torture—and his subordinate is left waist-deep in a moral morass. (The moment when Hoover tells Purvis "to take off the white gloves, as they say in Italy," is a rare one-liner capable of eliciting rueful nods from opponents of the Bush administration's detention policies and *Liberal Fascism* fans alike.)

Like most Mann films, *Public Enemies* requires a high tolerance for the cult of masculine cool. Dillinger *was* cool, fortunately, which means that Depp's performance as the bank robber doesn't require the suspension of disbelief that's required to enjoy, say, Tom Cruise's turn as a hitman-cum-existentialist in *Collateral*, or Daniel Day-Lewis's playing Hawkeye as the coolest cat on the colonial frontier in Mann's *Last of the Mohicans*. (It's telling that Mann's best movie, *The Insider*, came equipped with a protagonist—Jeffrey Wigand, a shlub of a tobacco executive—who was the antithesis of cool.)

This doesn't mean that the casting is pitch-perfect. Depp has the right build, and a gymnast's grace—Dillinger was nicknamed "Jackrabbit" for the way he leaped bank counters—but he looks more exotic than middle-American, and there's an unfortunate echo of Captain Jack Sparrow when he slathers on the charm. (To really nail Dillinger, you'd probably want Depp's charisma bottled into the body of William H. Macy.)

Bale is a more precise fit for Purvis: Stolidity roiled by moral anguish suits him, and so does playing the straight man to a more charismatic foil. Cotillard's performance is a clinic in how to invest a predictably written part with real humanity. And the rest of the cast—the parade of cops, crooks, prostitutes, lawyers—is a nice round-up of vaguely familiar, immensely talented supporting actors from all over the Hollywood map.

Public Enemies is 20 minutes too long and unsatisfying at various moments, and Mann doesn't really break any new ground along the way. But it's exactly the kind of film that ought to benefit, come awards season, from the Academy's recent decision to nominate ten films for Best Picture instead of five: a beautifully shot genre entertainment with some interesting social and political resonances. Is it great? No—but for what it is, it's more than good enough. **NR**

City Desk

Skull Session

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THE English cartoonist James Gillray drew a famous panel titled "The Gout." The wordless image showed a naked human foot, bitten by a tiny demon. How would he illustrate "Headache"? Years ago, my wife and I saw a modern dance piece called "The Garden of Earthly Delights," based on paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. At one point a man engaged in a pointless, maniacal struggle with another jammed his opponent's head up against one side of a bass drum, and pounded the other side. That might do.

My wife suffers from migraines. I don't, but I have seen enough of hers to bless all sufferers. The head itself seems to be infected from the inside. You don't want to sleep, because when you wake there is no change. You are compelled to toss and turn, but tossing and turning give no relief. Pain is compounded by hopelessness. Since no one ever has just one migraine, each new one holds out the prospect of endless repetition. A migraine thrusts life into an old world and a police state, where the gates of heaven are shut against you.

This being the city, there are headache specialists to consult (until HMOs and Obamacare drive them out of business). My wife's is a tall, serious man, originally a Soviet Jew, with an office on the Upper East Side. His waiting room is the Lourdes of migraine sufferers. Never have I seen a collection of patients so silent, so downcast. Most of them are women, proving yet again that men relieve their tensions with alcohol, violence, and meaningless sex. The wall art aims to soothe—one painting shows a grape arbor, with a red apple hanging miraculously among its fellow fruits. It is the fruit of the Tree of Relief—eat it, and you will have knowledge of Good and No More Evil. No one in the waiting room can stir herself to look at it.

This doctor's technique is to inject the forehead, temples, and shoulders with Botox. Botox is best known as the weapon of vanity against time. If you don't go in for nips and tucks and Chinese eyes, Botox is the other way to hold facial wrinkles at bay. After 40 we are all supposed to have the faces we deserve. And so it is of those who get themselves injected with Botox—their faces are bland, puffed, and wiped like a crashed hard drive of all the information of experience. And yet Botox can also fight migraines by paralyzing muscles that go into spasm. My wife's doctor's way with a needle is disconcertingly freehand—he pricks there, there, and there, like a conductor cuing pizzicato. Normally these cures last for three months; my wife's headaches, tough customers, start creeping back after ten weeks.

No self-respecting city-dweller has only one specialist on call—that would be like knowing only one restaurant—and another doctor my wife turns to from time to time uses another technique: injecting mild anesthetic into knots of muscles called trigger points. This causes them to relax, and my wife to relax. This doctor is a merry badger, happy to discuss Bernie Madoff or other figures of the moment as he plies his healing arts. His office is near the U.N., and his waiting room, like his colleague's, is a Pool of Bethesda, crowded with glum sufferers, despairing of either Jesus or the angel.

> Since no one ever has just one migraine, each new one holds out the prospect of endless repetition.

A third way of fighting headaches is the universal solution to all problems: Change your life. In the case of migraines, it involves changing how you walk, stand, and carry yourself. The Alexander technique is a posture program developed by an actor at the turn of the last century who found his voice going; he decided to tinker with his instrument, got his voice back, and spawned a movement. Actors and singers remain disciples to this day; my wife has found an instructor on Union Square. This is a remedy for the long haul, like fighting the jihad by promoting democracy, though it may work best in the end.

An aching head makes a new map of the city, with highlights at all the addresses where relief is to be found. It joins the sheaf of maps that show the ways to fresh vegetables, leg presses, socks, work, art, drinks, 24-hour pharmacies, and ATMs. If you copied them all together into one map it would be as dense as the Talmud.

Different circumstances appear to set migraines off, or to exacerbate them. One is the approach of rain. My wife's barometer is her head. She can predict the weather as well as a field full of cows (standing, clear; sitting, rain); better than human meteorologists. When we see, out our apartment window, or down a vista of side street, a black cloud dragging its heavy udder along, she says, "You see that cloud? It's inside my head." This month, an anthology of unseasonable showers, drizzles, and downpours, has been a particular trial.

One other factor surely is the bustle of city life. The very density that supplies an array of cures creates the need for them. What the city gives with the right hand, it filches with the left. Take the background of jackhammers, ambulances, garbage trucks, barflies, cell-phone yakkers, subways taking the curve into Union Square, and barking news readers on the driver's-seat screens in taxi cabs, and add, in the supposed refuge of your apartment, someone drilling—a molly bolt? an oil well?—in the apartment upstairs, and the clenched muscles and swollen veins of the neck and head exchange glances and say, "Time to party!"

And yet Thomas Jefferson, bard of the soil and president in a capital that, if it was better than a pigsty, was still not a real city, had headaches too. "Fits," he called them, and they kept him in a dark room from nine to five for three weeks at a time. If he suffered what I have seen, I say let him have Sally. **NR**

Happy Warrior BY MARK STEYN

Jacksonian Democracy

On Sept. 11, 2001, about an hour after the planes hit the twin towers, Jo Moore, a senior adviser to Britain's "secretary of state for transport, local government, and the regions," turned away from the TV and fired off a departmental e-mail: "It's now a very good day to get out anything we want to bury." I'm not sure where Ms. Moore is these days, but June 25 and all the following week were even better days to get out anything you wanted to bury.

The House of Representatives passed the Waxman-Markey "cap and trade" bill, which dramatically distorts the market in a way that will imperil economic recovery, and increases the bureaucratic burden on already-overregulated American businesses, and makes us uncompetitive with foreign companies to a degree that makes Great Depression–inducing protectionism all but inevitable, and is also an affront to federalism, weakens your property rights in very basic ways, and costs you real money.

And nobody cared. Because Michael Jackson had died. He was an, er, "icon," in the coy evasion the Jackstream Media settled on almost instantly.

But boy, he had it all over Waxwing-Markup, whoever the hell they are. Had al-Qaeda wanted to catch our eye, they'd have had to fly a jet into the Jackson catafalque and hope that Rosie O'Donnell queried whether it was possible for fire to melt plastic. If you switched on and heard the words "health care," it was only because someone had a new rumor about Jacko's doctor. As Mr. Jackson himself once warbled:

I don't wanna think
I don't wanna learn
I don't wanna do anything . . .

Sounds good to me. Two centuries ago, Alexis de Tocqueville, that French bloke who toured Jacksonian America (Andrew, I mean), foresaw our descent into Jacksonian America (Michael, I mean), fretting that the citizens of a self-governing republic would decay into "an innumerable crowd of like and equal men who revolve on themselves without repose, procuring the small and vulgar pleasures with which they fill their souls." But even the worst journeyman hack peddling a *fin de la civilisation* potboiler might find the juxtaposition of the rulers ramming through a massive power grab and tax hike while the oblivious proletariat is feasting on round-the-clock coverage of a self-mutilated misfit of dubious sexual predilections a bit too crude to be plausible. But apparently it works: bread and circus freaks.

At such moments, democracy in America (in Tocqueville's phrase) seems alarmingly like the zombies in the late Mr. Jackson's "Thriller" video: It can still stagger about with a certain mesmeric energy but it's ever more the living dead. As is now traditional, our legislators had not read the bill they voted for. However, for once they had a decent excuse: A 300-page amendment to the original pithy 1,000-page bill was introduced at three in the morning on the day of passage and, alas, because Big Government has now effortlessly outpaced the nimble typing fingers of congressional stenographers, there was no actual physical copy of the bill in existence at the time the House voted for it.

Is that even legal? To pass a law that's not in writing? Hey, relax. Someone probably tweeted the high points. It'll be out there somewhere. The White House asked Ashton Kutcher to tweet National HIV Testing Day, so I'm sure they asked Lady Gaga or Perez Hilton to tweet National Unread Unwritten 1,000-Page Bill Day. No taxation without Twitterization!

If George III had put the tea clause 247 pages into a 300-page amendment to a 1,000-page bill, he might still have the colonies. Wherever he is now, he must be laughing his head off. Republican government is impossible in an age where not only are the bills too long for a reasonably engaged citizen to read, not only are they too long for a legislator to read, but they're too long to write down before they're passed into law. We just have to trust our rulers, and they just have to trust whichever aides negotiated whichever boondoggles with whichever lobbyists. The Nobel Prize–winning economist Paul Krugman is certainly very trusting, damning those who voted against the bill as guilty of "treason—treason against the planet."

There's an interesting phrase. The planet isn't a jurisdiction, so one can't technically owe allegiance to it, although those who affect a *citoyen du monde* mien like Krugman and Obama are happy to give the impression they do. Imagine how long it'll be if we ever reach that blessed day when "the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world" comes together to pass a Waxman-Markey bill for the entire planet. It'll be way longer than 1,300 pages! And they'll need translations, too!

At one point, that looked the way to bet. But I'm not so sure. A few years ago, Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore wrote a book called *The Size of Nations*, pointing out that of the ten richest countries in the world only four have populations above 1 million: the United States (260 million back then), Switzerland (7 million), Norway (4 million), Singapore (3 million). All the rest are small jurisdictions with few people. This is an age of little countries: The big ones (the Soviet Union) and not-so-big ones (Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) have gone belly-up, and in their wake have bloomed Latvia, Slovakia, and Montenegro. Apart from anything else, small nations have less need for the industrial-scale buying off of ethnic, regional, and other interests. Messrs. Alesina and Spolaore observed en route that, if America were as centrally governed as France, it would have broken up long ago.

The president and the Congress seem determined to test that proposition. In Michael Jackson terms, we're in the "Bad" phase: gargantuanism for its own sake. **NR**

CUBA ALIADOS CIGARS
AR AUGUSTO REYES epicur
VICTOR SINCLAIR Bohemian
LA PERLA HABANA MADURO
MADURO ROCKY PATEL
CARLOS TORAÑO Exodus 1959
PERDOMO TABACALERA PERDOMO HABANO
Cusano 18
CAO Gold
GURKHA
©2009 Thompson Cigar Co.

Can you afford **NOT** to take advantage of this offer?

SAVE 71%

Take these 11 puros for $29.95

Includes the $15 GURKHA Gran Reserve

Our FREE GIFT to you!

We at Thompson have been selling the best selection of premium cigars at incredibly low prices for almost a hundred years! If you haven't had the pleasure of purchasing from us before, here's the deal: as an introductory offer, we'll give you eleven top shelf puros including selections from Gurkha, Rocky Patel, C.A.O., Carlos Toraño and Perdomo **PLUS a Burl finish humidor with humidifier**, ALL for only $29.95! If you went elsewhere and paid full retail for this incredible collection it would set you back about $105 but when you buy at Thompson you **save 71%!** Heck, the Gurkha Gran Reserve alone is worth $15… how can you afford not to give Thompson a try?!?!

1915 THOMPSON & CO., INC.

America's Oldest Mail Order Cigar Company, Est 1915 • P.O. Box 31274
Tampa, FL 33631-3274 • Fax: 813-882-4605

1-800-538-9590
www.thompsoncigar.com
Type T8438 in our home page search bar and click GO

Dept. T8438
#971258

Get your Thompson's 11 Sampler now! 11 top-notch cigars for $29.95 (#971258) plus $4.95 shipping & handling. (All shipments to AK, HI, Guam, Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico must go priority mail - add an additional $10.00. *Florida residents add 6% sales tax + appropriate county tax).* Remittance of any taxes on orders shipped to a location outside of Florida is the responsibility of the purchaser. *In the event we are out of a Premium brand, Thompson reserves the right to substitute another premium brand cigar or size, of equal or greater value. All written orders MUST include your signature and date of birth. Limit one per customer.* **OFFER GOOD FOR 30 DAYS • NOT AVAILABLE TO MINORS AND GOOD ONLY IN THE USA**

9 billion

people to feed. A changing climate.

NOW WHAT?

Experts say we'll need to double agricultural output by 2050 to feed a growing world. That's challenge enough. But with a changing climate, the challenge becomes even greater.

Providing abundant and accessible food means putting the latest science-based tools in farmers' hands, including advanced hybrid and biotech seeds. Monsanto's advanced seeds not only significantly increase crop yields, they use fewer key resources – like land and fuel – to do it. That's a win-win for people, and the earth itself.

Producing more. Conserving more. Improving farmers' lives. That's sustainable agriculture. And that's what Monsanto is all about.

The world's farmers will need to double food production by 2050. Biotechnology can help.

Learn more at: **www.ProduceMoreConserveMore.com**

MONSANTO
imagine®

PRODUCING MORE | CONSERVING MORE | IMPROVING FARMERS' LIVES

© 2009 Monsanto Co. Monsanto Imagine and the Vine Design are trademarks of Monsanto Technology LLC.